Pakistan's Educational Trends

This book is dedicated to my respected mentor Shaheed Prof. Muhammad Shakil Auj, Dean of Faculty of the Islamic Studies University of Karachi, who was assassinated on 18th September 2014. His last sentence was *"Aap keh saktay hain kay Prof. Shakil Auj nay Quran main research ki hay!" (You can say that Prof. Shakil Auj has done research on the Quran).* He did indeed do research on the Quran but it was not appreciated by Pakistani conservatives. After he died, people said "He should not have disclosed his ideas boldly" and some openly stated, "He had heretical ideas". They were justifying the act of murder; in other words, they were saying that you should not do research in Islamic Studies because if your interpretations are not in compliance with the prevailing Pakistani Islamic traditions and if you are not silent, they will silence you!

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They helped me to grow my intellect in a difficult time when I lost much support, even from my extended family and friends. I had to fight on several fronts. There was a language issue; I wasn't fluent in English. Many of my extended family and friends live in the United States thought that I was working against Islam and Pakistan, so they wanted me to go back to Pakistan. However, a few of them were supportive. It was a difficult time. But as always it passed.

Also, the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) played a significant role with its nine-month Residential Fellowship; I did not only have money to survive, but the fine atmosphere was helpful in upgrading my intellect. Especially, Dr. Amr Abdalla's feedback was significant in making my work better. I am highly obliged to the Institute of International Education Scholar Rescue Fund (IIE-SRF); they connected me to Barbara Jasny, who worked at Science magazine for 34 years before retiring as a Deputy Editor. She read the whole manuscript in detail and helped me in editing. I am greatly indebted to her, as, without her sincere hard work, it would be impossible to edit.

Author's Note

I came to the United States through Harvard's Scholar at Risk program. It was unsafe for me to live and work in Pakistan. I was with Professor Shakil Auj when he was assassinated, and I survived being shot at. We were on the way to the Iranian Cultural Center, excitedly discussing the event arranged in honor of my mentor to celebrate his nomination for the Tamga-e-Imtiaz (Medal of Excellence). Suddenly, I saw the left glass of his spectacles breaking. In a moment, a bullet came out of his left cheek and went through the windshield. Immediately, as an unconscious act, I stooped down and bent over his 12-year-old niece who was sitting between us and covered her. While I was leaning over another bullet was fired that passed through my right shoulder. When we finally reached the Agha Khan Hospital, I was bathed in blood. My hair and shoes were filled with blood. I had completed my Ph.D. under his supervision. I used to accompany him to conferences and worked with him in editing his research journal. I gave a speech on his work that differed from traditional Islamic thinking. My book was published and, in its prologue, he mentioned me as his successor. For those who want to see how his life exemplifies efforts to improve the educational situation and his tragic death illustrates the terrible shortcomings that exist currently, please see the Appendix.

After his assassination, I received threats on social media and through text messages. I applied for the Harvard Scholar at Risk program and was offered a fellowship. I knew that going back was not safe when Dr. Waheedur Rehman, an Assistant Professor at Karachi University's Mass Communication department was also assassinated on the 29th of April 2015. He had completed his doctorate under Prof. Shakil Auj's supervision and was outspoken in helping Prof. Auj's family obtain justice.

This work started when I came to the United States in January 2015 through the aforementioned program. I wanted to know the answers to questions that were profoundly unsettling. How can a society be so intolerant that a scholar educated solely in Pakistan with such open-minded views is disregarded while many Western-educated scholars with traditional insular thoughts are not only appreciated but flourishing? I wanted to know why Pakistani elites have so much power and freedom while the lower-classes are profoundly helpless. Those who barely pay have been in power for generations but those who have to pay taxes are suffering from sky-high inflation. The influential religious leaders mostly belong to the elite class of the society while their followers are mostly lower classes. Here again, the tight control on appointed positions runs mostly within families and social classes. How and why are these influential religious leaders silent on issues of social justice? Don't they have a responsibility to speak on the issues of social justice rather than limiting themselves in claiming their absolute truth? Why don't they come forward and work to end the disparity of quality education between elites and lower classes in Pakistan? Instead many of them are running their own money-spinning elite Islamic schools. More importantly, why do the Ulama themselves have a tight hierarchical system in the Madrasa (Islamic seminaries) community so that poor intelligent students hardly ever can attain leading

positions? How and why are the Ulama silent while many Pakistani minorities are ruthlessly murdered or forced to leave their homes and jobs?

I belong to the Urdu-speaking lower-middle class of Karachi. My grandmother moved from Patna, present-day India, to Karachi in 1946. I was always regarded as an outsider so I considered myself a minority. When I came to the United States, at the age of 43, I introduced myself as a Pakistani and felt true happiness in being considered a pure Pakistani. Otherwise, with mixed feelings of guilt, I had to say that I am an Urdu-speaking Hindustani. I always felt guilty at being an Indian in Pakistan and felt inferior and less Pakistani compared to "pure" Pakistanis such as Punjabis and Sindhis. I grew up with a feeling of otherness and exclusion. I went to a non-elite English-medium Shia school where I used to emotionally recite their *Marsiya*, the Shia mourning poems on martyrdom. I was a minority in my school, as I belong to the Sunni Barelvi sect but was influenced by Jamat-e-Islami's social *dars* for women. I then went to Ahl-e-Hadith Madrasa for five years and was among the few who had a bachelor's degree. After completing the madrasa course, I joined University of Karachi's Arabic department. There I met Dr. Ihsanul Haq. His rational questioning of traditional practices in Islam spoke to the questions in me. The search for answers directed my thoughts. After completing my M.A., I was admitted to the MPhil/ Ph.D. program in Islamic Studies at the University of Karachi. I value the certainty of my faith fostered by the Imam of my Salafi madrasa, but Prof. Shakil Auj is important, as he helped me recognize that uncertainty is the way to find truths about religion. His was the most profound impact on my training. Among other things, it helped me put into perspective another curriculum I had pursued: the advanced course conducted by Dr. Farhat Hashmi, one of Pakistan's most popular female teachers, especially among elites. I had thought they would be liberal due to their western training and female leadership. But their pedagogy and social views were every bit as conservative as the lower-class Madrasas. Prof. Auj helped me recognize that people's religious attitudes must be understood in their social contexts, and can be distinguished from core religious teachings. I taught in weekly programs for young women and in summer schools of Al-Huda International. I worked there for three years and still felt like an outsider because my education was not through Dr. Farhat Hashmis's extensive two and a half year Quran course. Hence, I have felt like an outsider most of my life. I understand the misery of *otherness* in one's own country. I understand the limits of the national language Urdu, my mother tongue in Pakistan, because I was not fluent in English, *the language of the elites*.

Rationale

- **Poverty**
- **Unemployment**
- **National and sectarian divides**
- **Radicalization**
- **Illiteracy**
- **The Importance of Education**
- **Research Goals and Questions**

Substantial numbers of children are out of school in Pakistan. According to the 2016 Alif Ailaan report, "41% of students drop out before finishing primary school. 47% i.e. 24 million children are out of school in Pakistan. 77% of out-of-school Pakistani children have never been to school and 23% dropped out."[1] Hence, over 18million children have not ever seen the interior of a classroom.[2] Only 51% of women in Pakistan have ever attended school and in rural areas, this number is even lower at 40%.[3] "By grade six, 59 percent of girls are out of school, versus 49 percent of boys. Only 13 percent of girls are still in school by ninth grade."[4] Moreover, because of increased child labor,[5] the critical issues are to enroll the poor children in the schools and if enrolled, keep them in the schools. "Disparities by gender, socioeconomic status and geography are significant; in rural Sindh, 65 percent of the poorest children have never attended school, and in Balochistan, 75 percent of girls are out of school." [6]

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[1]Alif Ailaan, "The State of Education in Pakistan", PDF File, *https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/alifailaan/pages/496/attachments/original/1473162927/The_State_of_Education_in_Pakistan.pdf?1473162927*

[2] Hafsa Chaudhry, "Why do so many children drop out of Pakistani schools?", *Dawn,* February 25, 2016, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1241630*

[3]Alif Ailaan, "The State of Education in Pakistan", PDF File, *https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/alifailaan/pages/496/attachments/original/1473162927/The_State_of_Education_in_Pakistan.pdf?1473162927*

[4] "Shall I Feed My Daughter, or Educate Her?" Barriers to Girls' Education in Pakistan, Human Rights Watch, November, 2018, *https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/11/12/shall-i-feed-my-daughter-or-educate-her/barriers-girls-education-pakistan*

[5] "Over 12.5 million children in Pakistan are involved in child labour, according to a statement issued by the Child Rights Movement (CRM) National Secretariat", *Dawn*, June 13, 2016, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1264451*

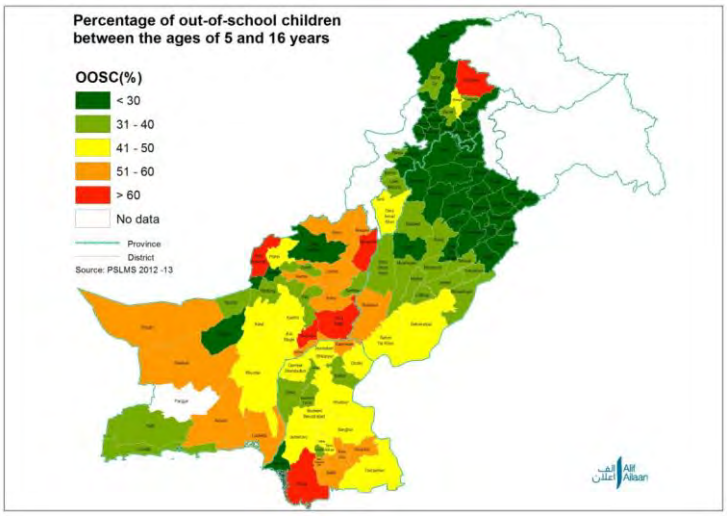
[6]UNICEF Annual Report 2017, Pakistan, P.38, *https://www.unicef.org/about/annualreport/files/Pakistan_2017_COAR.pdf*

EDUCATED POPULATION BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

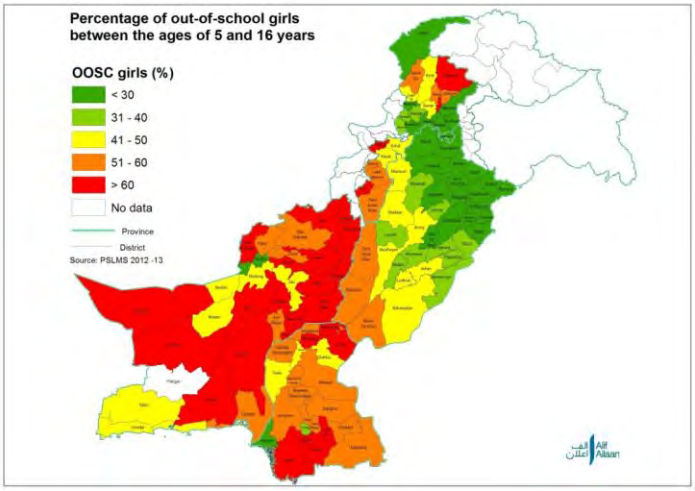
(in percent)

Administrative Unit	Below Primary	Primary	Middle	Matric	Inter-mediate	Diploma/ Certificate	BA/BSc & Equivalent	MA/MSc & Equivalent	Others
Pakistan	18.30	30.14	20.90	17.29	6.56	0.41	4.38	1.58	0.44
Rural	22.57	34.88	20.25	14.71	4.24	0.23	1.96	0.75	0.40
Urban	14.06	25.45	21.54	19.85	8.86	0.58	6.78	2.40	0.48
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	19.78	29.64	19.94	18.61	6.09	0.40	3.43	1.56	0.54
Rural	22.05	31.50	19.74	17.45	4.94	0.29	2.40	1.12	0.50
Urban	13.82	24.75	20.48	21.64	9.11	0.68	6.12	2.74	0.66
Punjab	19.16	31.73	21.81	16.78	5.63	0.32	3.23	1.07	0.28
Rural	22.92	35.65	21.38	14.07	3.60	0.19	1.51	0.44	0.24
Urban	14.58	26.96	22.33	20.09	8.09	0.48	5.33	1.82	0.32
Sindh	15.56	27.13	19.20	17.84	9.00	0.61	7.43	2.65	0.58
Rural	21.36	36.46	15.19	14.28	6.53	0.34	3.54	1.80	0.51
Urban	13.37	23.61	20.71	19.19	9.93	0.72	8.90	2.97	0.60
Balochistan	19.23	25.91	20.05	18.58	6.48	0.47	4.43	2.37	2.49
Rural	23.00	28.56	19.44	16.94	4.66	0.33	2.67	1.23	3.17
Urban	15.16	23.06	20.72	20.33	8.43	0.62	6.33	3.59	1.76
Islamabad	14.05	22.68	18.91	17.90	9.84	0.69	10.26	5.24	0.41
Rural	22.46	29.96	22.29	15.45	5.30	0.35	2.88	1.10	0.21
Urban	10.70	19.78	17.56	18.88	11.65	0.83	13.21	6.90	0.49

[7]



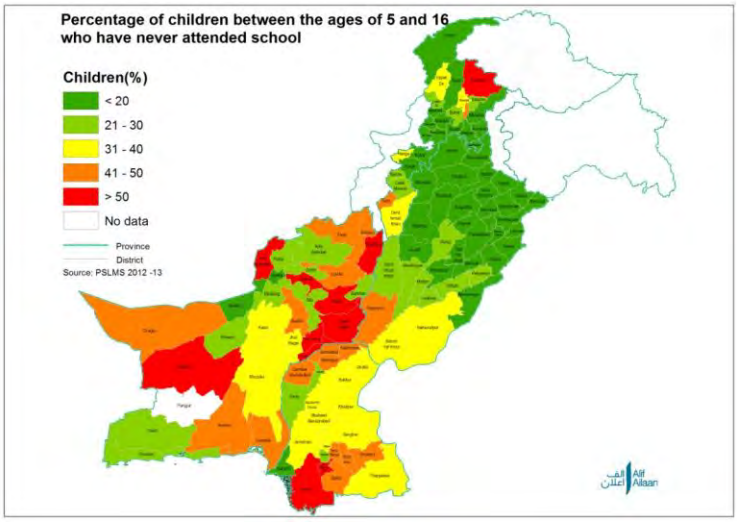
[8]



[9]

[7] *http://www.pbs.gov.pk/content/educated-population-level-education*

[8] *https://www.alifailaan.pk/heat_maps*



[10]

"Of those children who do go to school, the vast majority receive an education of poor quality. 43% of government schools are in a dangerous or dilapidated condition and lack basic facilities such as furniture, bathrooms, boundary walls, electricity, and running water. 21% of government primary schools are operating with a single teacher and 14% with a single classroom. Corporal punishment is widespread and remains unchecked. Budget allocations for education are insufficient and funds that are available are not spent effectively."[11] "Pakistan is spending 2.6 percent of the GDP on education compared to 7.4 percent in Bhutan, 5.2 percent in the Maldives, 3.8 percent in India, 3.7 percent in Nepal, 3.3 percent in Afghanistan, 2.2 percent in Sri Lanka and 1.9 percent in Bangladesh,"as revealed by the Global Education Monitoring (GEM) Report 2017."[12]

Teachers are either not present, or present, but not educating. The 2015 report of the independent Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) discovered that only 44 percent of third graders in rural schools (public and private) can read a sentence in Urdu. Of those who remain in school through fifth grade, only 55 percent can read a story in Urdu. The same situation is the case with science at a grade four level. In 2006, 67 percent of students scored below average in the National Education Assessment System (NEAS) assessment of fourth-grade science. The condition further worsened in 2014, when the most current iteration of the NEAS assessment revealed that 79 percent of students had scored below average. In general, Pakistan's students score disappointingly in reading and mathematics in every major province.[13] Approximately 44% of children in grade 5 cannot read a tale in Urdu, Sindhi or Pashto and 48% of children in grade 5 cannot read a sentence effortlessly in English. In grade 5 49% of children

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[9] *https://www.alifailaan.pk/heat_maps*

[10] *https://www.alifailaan.pk/heat_maps*

[11] "Pakistan's Education Crisis", *Alif Ailan*, *http://www.alifailaan.pk/pakistan_education_crisis,* Accessed April 19, 2018.

[12] Quoted by Amin Yousufzai, Pakistan Spends Less on Education Than Most South Asian Countries, *https://propakistani.pk/2017/11/17/pakistan-spends-less-education-south-asian-countries/*

[13] Ahmad Ali, Nadia Naviwala, "Should we double the education budget, or seek 100pc literacy?", Jun 07, 2017 01:47pm, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1335342/should-we-double-the-education-budget-or-seek-100pc-literacy*

cannot execute easy two-digit division.[14] Pakistan is suffering from many issues; however, the following prominent problems are related to this research:[15]

Poverty

Percent of the population according to the Social Classes	
Upper-middle Class	42 [16]
Lower-middle Class	30 [17]
Lower Class	39 percent on multidimensional poverty[18]

Pakistanis by and large don't declare their entire assets. Therefore, one question is how much wealth do the Pakistani rich actually have? This is not easy to answer given that the country does not generate comprehensive data on household incomes and income distribution. Thus, the derived measures via the information provided by the World Bank in World Development Indicators are the remaining option.[19]According to the World Bank, in 2015 income share held by highest 10 percent was 28.9 percent, whereas the income share held by the lowest 10 percent was only 3.9 percent.[20] This reflects the profound disparity between the extremely rich and extremely poor that still exits even today.

[14] Alif Ailaan, "The State of Education in Pakistan", PDF File, *https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/alifailaan/pages/496/attachments/original/1473162927/The_State_of_Education_in_Pakistan.pdf?1473162927*

[15] Other serious problems that are outside the scope of my research include corruption and the population boom.

[16] Salman Siddique, Pakistan's middle class continues to grow at rapid pace, *The Express Tribune*, Nov 17, 2018.

[17] Dr. Hafiza Pasha, The Middle Class of Pakistan, Business Recorder, Oct.2017, *https://fp.brecorder.com/2017/10/20171031230943/*

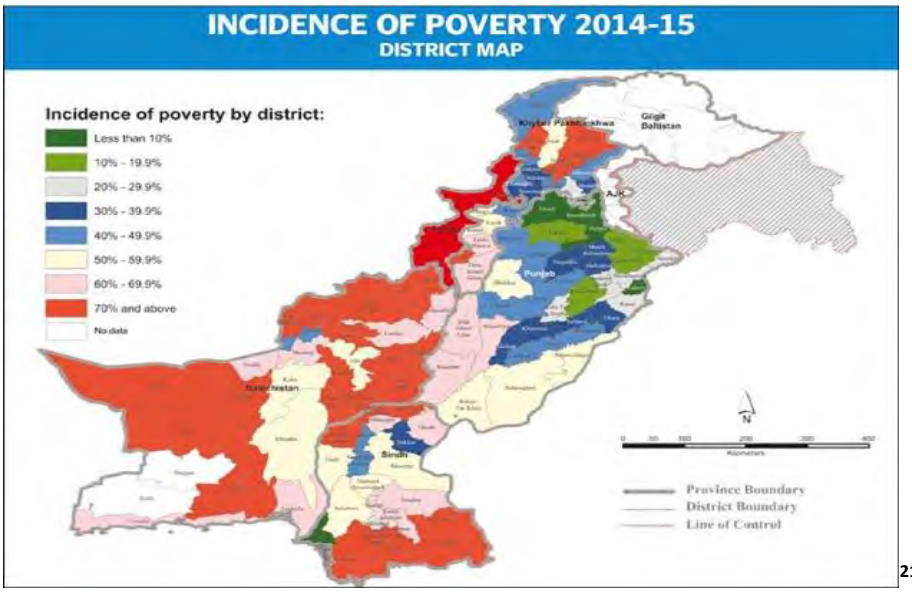
[18] The MPI (Multidimensional Poverty Index) methodology, developed by UNDP and the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative in 2010, uses a broader concept of poverty by reflecting people's deprivations related to health, education, and standard of living in addition to income and wealth.

Pakistan's new poverty index reveals that 4 out of 10 Pakistanis live in multidimensional poverty, UNDP Pakistan, June20,2016,*http://www.pk.undp.org/content/pakistan/en/home/presscenter/pressreleases/2016/06/20/pakistan-s-new-poverty-index-reveals-that-4-out-of-10-pakistanis-live-in-multidimensional-poverty.html*

All these data have been taken from different news articles which were released in between 2016-2017. Therefore, the total of all of them is 111% rather than 100%.

[19] Javed Burki, How rich are the Pakistani rich?, Dawn, May, 2011, *https://tribune.com.pk/story/169144/how-rich-are-the-pakistani-rich/*

[20] The World Bank, Data Bank, World Development Indicators, *https://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=world-development-indicators*



[21]

Unemployment

According to a recent report, over 500,000 graduates are unemployed in Pakistan.[22] The total unemployment rate stayed at 5.9% of the labor force for 2016 and 2017.[23](The labor force has been estimated at ~45.5 million).[24]

National and sectarian divides

Pakistan is currently "third least tolerant country in the world in terms of social acceptance of religious diversity," according to the Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion and Public Life.[25]

Radicalization

In 2013 there were 355 terrorist attacks resulting in 5,379 deaths, with many attacks aimed directly at the military forces. The situation was even worse in 2014, a year that concluded with the December 16 terrorist attacks by TTP (Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan) militants on the Army Public School in the Peshawar cantonment. The attack caused 150 fatalities, including 143 children, many of them offspring of Army employees, and a number of the school staff. In contrast, 2016 witnessed 172 attacks resulting in 1,260 victims, including 540 civilians, 208 military force employees, and 512 terrorists. From April 2018 until

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[21] Shahbaz Rana, 40% Pakistanis live in poverty, The Express Tribune, Jun 21, 2016, *https://tribune.com.pk/story/1126706/40-pakistanis-live-poverty/*

[22] Jamal Shahid, Over 500,000 graduates unemployed across country, NA told, *Dawn*, January, 18, 2018, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1383666*

[23] Trading Economic, Pakistan Unemployment Rate, *https://tradingeconomics.com/pakistan/unemployment-rate*

[24] Hussain H Zaidi, With Economic Expension, Pakistan is Facing Jobless Groth, The Express Tribune, June 25, 2018. *https://tribune.com.pk/story/1741689/2-economic-expansion-pakistan-facing-jobless-growth/*

[25] Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), *Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas,* (Washington, DC: US Commission on International Religious Freedom, November 2011), p.17, PDF File, *https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf*

July 2018, there had been 17 attacks, resulting in 150 terrorism-related victims, comprising 46 civilians, 51 military force employees, and 53 terrorists. Moreover, in the days prior to the July 2018 election, the country was convulsed by numerous attacks on electoral candidates, including one in Baluchistan that killed almost 140 people—the deadliest terrorist attack in Pakistan since the Army Public School bloodshed in 2014.[26] Frequently those trained and recruited by the extremists are educated young men, not just illiterate youngsters. "Sindh's Counter Terrorism Department said that out of 500 militants currently held in Sindh's jails, 64 hold a master's degree and 70 have a bachelor's."[27]

The abyss between the elites and lower classes, generated by educational differences, is profound. Hopelessness in the lower classes has been the result, which has made them easily accessible to the extremists. Moeed Yusuf's words from 2008 still resonate. "Pakistan exhibits symptoms that point to a high potential for youth radicalization. The situation is marked by a poor education system stratified along socio-economic lines and disparate economic opportunities across segments of society. These warning signals increase the likelihood for young members of society being lured towards extremist causes. Moreover, the presence of an extremist infrastructure, the impeccable organizational discipline and widespread social networks of Pakistan's Islamic political and militant outfits, a failure of the moderate forces to deliver credible results, and myopic U.S. policies further enhance Islamist influence."[28]

Illiteracy

48 million people are illiterate in Pakistan, meaning nearly half the adult population of Pakistan can't read. According to the Pakistan Economic Survey, 2017-2018, as reported in the press, the literacy rate for Pakistan as a whole, which includes individuals ten years old and above is 58 percent. The national net enrollment for primary level education was 54 percent, ranging from Punjab at a high of 59 percent to Balochistan at 33 percent.[29]

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[26] David O. Smith, Colonel, United States Army (retired), *The Quetta Experience, A Study of Attitudes and Values Within the Pakistan Army,* Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C. 2018, p.8-9.

[27] On April 13, a crowd in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa almost casually carried wooden planks and guns to fatally beat and shoot Mashal Khan, a 23-year-old journalism student who had been accused — falsely, as investigation later showed — of spreading blasphemy on social media. Then Naureen Laghari, a bright, 20-year-old medical student from a well-educated family in Sindh province, was arrested for allegedly planning an Easter suicide attack on Lahore's Christian community. She had pledged allegiance to Islamic State and had traveled to Syria, where she took military training. "Laghari is not the first example of radicalized youth to become a foot soldier for a terror outfit," security and defense analyst Aisha Siddiqa told VOA. "She's certainly not the last one. When there's no place in the country where you can engage in an open debate on religion, then the only way forward is in the form of radicalization." …."The education system of Pakistan does not train a student in logical/scientific inference or critical thinking. So he's unable to critically dissect the indoctrinating patterns," Naureen Zehra, an education expert, told VOA. Madeeha Anwar, Pakistan's Emerging Threat: Highly Educated Youth Gravitate to Radicalization, *Voice of America's Extremism Watch Desk*, May 06 2017, *https://www.voanews.com/a/pakistan-emerging-threat-highly-educated-youth-gravitate-to-radicalization/3840686.html*

[28] Moeed yusuf, Prospects of Youth Rdicalization in Pakistan: Implications for U.S. Policy, Brookings, October 31, 2008, *https://www.brookings.edu/research/prospects-of-youth-radicalization-in-pakistan-implications-for-u-s-policy/*

[29] Mumtaz Alvi, Pakistan's literacy rate stands at 58 pc, The News, April, 2018, *https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/309542-pakistan-s-literacy-rate-stands-at-58pc*

The Importance of Education

Ziauddin Sardar, Professor of Law and Society at Middlesex University and Co-Editor of Critical Muslim, aptly raised the following fundamental questions: "What are the objectives of the education system? To develop the individual, to create responsible citizens, to pass on certain skills, to teach students how to learn? Should it select and shape elite, or is collective progress preferable to select promotion?"[30] Everybody should have the right, not only to obtain an education but also to obtain a high-quality education. A high-quality education system should manage to offer *all* children and young people an inclusive education and suitable training for life, both in society and private. This must be attained without any kind of extraneous distinctions, such as those derived from parents' earnings, color, gender, language, religion, political or other opinion, or national or social origin.[31] Both males and females have equal needs for education. Regardless of how old a person is, s/he can still obtain the education. Education is the only channel that directs people to better futures. "Education represents both a right and need and occupies a central role in the determination of individual standards of living. People's health and happiness, their economic security, opportunities, and social status—each is affected by education."[32] Hence, education should be a major issue of concern.

There is no doubt that education shapes each individual's personality. However, it is a grave injustice if education is limited only to the elites of society. Rather education should be used to address moral obligations and duties toward the collective progress of the society. Education should generate a sense of responsibility for all people. Education should not only make people more conscious of their ethical and civil duties, but they should also be taught how to recognize and attain their national, societal and individual rights.

Education can measure any country's true progression over time. If a country does not have a proper education system, it most likely will be left behind by other countries that espouse education. Thus, the better the quality of education that a country has, the faster it is expected to progress. Irrespective of the global problems that a country is confronting; whether it's the eradication of poverty, the making of peace, or environmental energy issues, the solutions will persistently encompass education. The social and economic issues of a country cannot be ameliorated without education.[33] Education is also a foremost determinant of the welfare of nations, as the total of micro-level individual educational experiences has significant implications for macro circumstances in the society altogether. Owing to its significance, education is often at the heart of policy deliberations regarding human progress.

According to Martin Carnoy, a labor economist and Vida Jacks Professor of Education at the Stanford Graduate School of Education, part of the vital role education plays in getting a better quality of life is evident in the economic field. This is particularly true in the world today, where a more globalized economy puts a higher premium on economic competitiveness. Furthermore, as a result of modern information technologies, economic development, and social progress, advancement depends on

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[30] Ziauddin Sardar & Jeremy Henzell-Thomas, *Rethinking Reform in Higher Education, From Islamization to Integration of Knowledge*, VA US, 2017, International Institute of Islamic Thought, p.3.

[31] Ulf Fredriksson, Quality Education: The Key Role of Teachers, Education International Working Papers no. 14, September 2004, p.2, http://glotta.ntua.gr/posdep/Dialogos/Quality/ei_workingpaper_14.pdf

[32] *EDUCATION NOWADAYS*. Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/274704027_EDUCATION_NOWADAYS [accessed Jul 05 2018].

[33] Ibid.

human knowledge more than the availability of natural resources. Responding to new and swiftly varying circumstances in a progressively more inter-reliant world economy requires more adaptable, effortlessly trainable labor, with improving abilities to access and interpret the mass of information available on the Internet. Successively, this need necessitates higher quality, more flexible education sufficient to provide young people and adults the knowledge and life skills to function effectively in a new environment. Nations with higher educated populations are also more liable to develop better organized, more cohesive civil societies—the social capital underpinning economic and social progress in the current information-rich world. Hence, nations are under much greater pressure than in the past to develop education systems and boost their quality to develop the highly accomplished workforces and social resources required to compete in the international economy. Nations are also in a difficult situation from families motivated to provide their children benefit in a progressively more competitive atmosphere about getting decent jobs. As such competition intensifies; there is a rising propensity toward inequality and inequity of right of entry to quality education. International agencies are also applying pressure on countries to meet internationally established goals for universal primary education and adult literacy. Countries that do not have the public resources to meet all these demands are in a difficult situation when trying to decrease costs or, at the least, to increase the cost-effectiveness of their public education investments. This often results in turning to a combination of public and private financing, which has implications for both equity and efficiency.[34]

One of the aims of education is to enable people by improving their general awareness concerning their position as global citizens. This understanding generates an environment of trust and support in society. Education plays a significant part in political stability, economic progress, and social development of a nation. It begets political stability as a result of people's understanding of their national rights and duties; through this awareness, a healthy environment is shaped for better execution of policies and greater contribution and collaboration by the people.

Research Goals and Questions

I have written this book in an effort to show that the current national curriculum offered across the country fosters a sense of national and sectarian divisions, especially affecting the minority populations (minority Muslim sects like Shias and those who are not Muslims). It also makes it impossible in many cases for lower class individuals to get jobs and have a path out of poverty. Therefore, this work explores some of the critical problems that to date have weighed down the education system of Pakistan. The focus will be to critically examine the elements in the Pakistani national curriculum and Madrasas and their effects on Pakistani society. How has the situation developed in which only children of the affluent classes receive a quality education? What possibilities are there for social change which would reduce these problems and universalize the quality of education? As a result of Content Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis of available literature, statistics, and reports, this research will highlight existing problems and offer potential solutions.

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[34] Martin Carnoy, Education for All and the Quality of Education: A Reanalysis, Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2005, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations, p.1, *http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.526.7811&rep=rep1&type=pdf*

Background and Methodology

- **Background**
- **Methodology**
- **Data Sources**
- **Analytical Methods**
- **Content Analysis**
- **Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**
- **Review of Significant Literature**

Background

Education in Pakistan is guaranteed according to Article 25A of the Constitution: "Right to education: The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children under the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law."[35] The education system in Pakistan starts with preschool from the age of 3-5 years, followed by the primary school from grades 1 to 5, and then middle school from grade 6 to 8. After middle school students take the Secondary School Certificate exam in their 9th and 10th grade, generally called the Matriculation Exam. If they pass that exam, they are then eligible to attend college for the 11th and 12th grades and receive a Higher Secondary School Certificate. After that, some students are admitted to professional colleges or universities. According to the Pakistan Higher Education Commission report for 2013-14, 3 million students enrolled in grades 13 through 16 in 1,086-degree colleges and 161 universities in Pakistan.[36] The Pakistan Integrated Household Survey illustrated that public schools account for 73 percent, and private schools 26 percent of all enrollment.[37] In 2015 the government estimated that there were 260,903 institutions facilitating 41,018,384 students with the support of 1,535,461 primary and secondary school teachers. The system comprises 180,846 public institutions and 80,057 private institutions; thus 31% of the educational institutes are run by the private sector whereas 69% are public schools.[38]Today, Pakistan's educational system consists of several strata: Government schools, English-medium private schools affordable to the middle class, Army Public schools, Cadet schools, elites' English-medium schools affordable to affluent families, "exclusive" Islamic private schools affordable to affluent families only related to Ahl-le-Hadith or Deobandi sects, Islamic private schools for lower-middle classes, mosque schools, and the Madrasas.

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[35] Pakistan Const. art. XXV A, Right to Education, *http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part2.ch1.html* Accessed April 24*, 2018.*

[36] Riaz Haq, College Enrollment and Graduation Rates in Pakistan, July, 2015, PakAlumni Worldwide: The Global Social Network, *http://www.pakalumni.com/m/blogpost?id=1119293%3ABlogPost%3A103238*

[37] Madiha Afzal, *Pakistan Under Siege: Extremism, Society, and the State,* Brookings Institution Press, Washington D.C. 2018, P.80, *https://www-jstor-org.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/stable/pdf/10.7864/j.ctt1hfr16s.8.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A33e517bef3252e3e077d5fefb55357ec*

[38] Aftab Hussain, Education System of Pakistan: Issues, Problems and Solutions, March, 2015, *Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRA)*, *http://www.ipripak.org/education-system-of-pakistan-issues-problems-and-solutions/*

Madrasas provide free education, shelter, and food to orphans and poor children. Roughly 35000 institutions are registered Madrasas in Pakistan.[39] According to Jishnu Das, a senior economist at the World Bank, only 1.5 percent [40]of students are enrolled in Pakistani Madrasas. However, the general public is influenced by their Friday sermons and media programs. Moreover, these religious schools are also divided into those serving elites and those serving lower classes. They are traditionally funded mostly via private donations but in some cases from foreign countries like Saudi Arabia and Iran, who also contribute to funding their proxy sects' Madrasas. The curriculum in religious schools is established by their sect's Ulama. Because of the influence of religion on the school system in Pakistan, it should be noted that according to a recent census, the population in Pakistan consists of 96.28 percent Muslims, 1.59 percent Christians, 1.6 percent Hindus, 0.22 percent Ahmadis, and 0.25 percent Scheduled Castes. There are 9.77 percent Hindus in the rural regions and 3.08 percent Hindus in the urban regions in Sindh.[41]

Each provincial government funds their public schools. Their curriculum is set by the Curriculum Wing of the Ministry of Education of that province. "Pakistan's highly decentralized structure of government means that many decisions regarding education policy are made at the subnational level. The result is a separate planning process in every province, on a different timeline, with varying approaches, levels of effectiveness and commitment to improving access to education... This leads to major differences from one province to the next, including on such basic issues as whether children are charged fees to attend government schools, and how much teachers are paid."[42] The elite English-medium schools are private schools in elite neighborhoods; they provide world-class, quality education. Most of them follow Certificate/GCE, Ordinary Level, and Advanced Level curricula, meaning their students take the examinations from the University of Cambridge. The gap between elites and lower classes is increasing with the ever-increasing population in Pakistan. In Karachi, fees range from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 117000, depending on whether enrollment is in a nonelite Islamic or elite Islamic school. This is only the monthly tuition fee. There are many other costs including book pack charges, computer charges, and vital admission fees and security deposit payments that can be approximately Rs.100,000 for several schools.[43] It keeps lower classes away from the quality education imparted in the elite English-medium schools and elite Islamic schools. Public school students continue to lag behind elite English-medium students, as most elite English-medium students successfully take competitive exams and acquire most high official jobs. As a result of the lack of social mobility, the poor factions are getting poorer and the rich factions are becoming richer. On the other hand, even in public schools deprived households struggle to meet the expenses of sending their children to school. Government schools are usually more inexpensive than private education, but they sometimes charge tuition, registration or exam fees, and

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[39] *https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2015/07/31/report-says-over-35000-madrassas-operating-in-pakistan/*

[40] Beenish Ahmed, The Madrassa Myth: in Pakistan, Public Schools may be the Problem, *PRI's The World*, August 21, 2013 · 12:45 PM EDT,*https://www.pri.org/stories/2013-08-21/madrassa-myth-pakistan-public-schools-may-be-problem*

[41] *http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files//tables/POPULATION%20BY%20RELIGION.pdf*

[42] "Shall I Feed My Daughter, or Educate Her?" Barriers to Girls' Education in Pakistan, Human Rights Watch,Op.Cit. *https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/11/12/shall-i-feed-my-daughter-or-educate-her/barriers-girls-education-pakistan*

[43]*https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1nZsjNAhY0Ah9-DU6FaihrBq7A1adsCaq1zbFKOS913U/htmlview?sle=true#* Accessed on November 2, 2018.

they almost always require that students' families pay the bill for related expenditures. These include stationery, notebooks, uniforms, book bags, and shoes. Textbooks are sometimes given for free at government schools, but occasionally families have to pay for these as well.[44]

The Cadet Schools charge high fees for training students for the military schools. They are subsidized by the government and also provide high-quality education.

There are Islamic schools in elite neighborhoods that are mostly run by influential religious leaders; they have high fees and have similar standards in curriculum and faculty members as in elite English-medium schools. As I will show, generally the non-elite Islamic schools use a substandard radicalized curriculum and faculty. Non-elite English-medium schools are private schools that are present in neighborhoods that lack elite schools. These are the low-fee school with a sub-standard quality of education. Typically they follow the English version of the national curriculum.

Methodology

Data Sources

Combinations of materials were used in generating my analysis and conclusions. This resulted in scanning thousands of pages of text from 2015-2018.

1. Interviews and discussions with scholars: I had many meetings with Professors John Esposito and Tamara Sonn and with Dr. Amr Abdalla. They all guided me towards the essence of the issues. Dwight Fee, Head Preceptor, Harvard College Writing Program and Janling Fu, Preceptor in Expository Writing at Harvard University guided me towards the technicalities of writing.
2. A systematic review of the literature including, research articles, publications, and theses. I am highly grateful to the Harvard University libraries, Georgetown University library, and International Institute of Islamic Thought's Al-Alwani & al Faruqi libraries.
3. I have collected the government schools' 9th-10th-11th-12th grade Biology, Physics, Pakistan Studies and Iqra schools' elementary curriculum 2014-18 books and studied them closely for this work. I studied Army Public School books via the Army Public School and College System Secretariat, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, 2012, http://www.apsacssectt.edu.pk/. Al-Huda International Islamic Schools' books were accessed via http://aispk.org/.
4. Evaluation of (a) Internet and news material, from sources, considered reliable, such as websites like ResearchGate, and articles that were published by renowned universities and International agencies like UNESCO or World Bank etc; (b) documents comprising Pakistan's national curriculum books' texts for public schools, published field research reports, and research papers from international agencies such as Amnesty International, renowned Pakistani NGO's like Alif Ailan; (c) past education policies mentioned in works like Mumtaz Ahmad and Husnul Amin's *A Documentary History of Islamic Education in Pakistan*, vol.1 &2, Islamabad: Emel Publications, IRD, 2016.

[44] "Shall I Feed My Daughter, or Educate Her?" Barriers to Girls' Education in Pakistan, Human Rights Watch,Op.Cit. *https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/11/12/shall-i-feed-my-daughter-or-educate-her/barriers-girls-education-pakistan*

Analytical Methods

Content Analysis

The purpose of the content analysis is to organize and obtain meaning from the data collected and derive factual inferences from it. In a patent analysis, the researcher describes *what* the text, in fact, articulates; h/she remains very close to the text, utilizing the original words themselves, and explaining what is discernible and evident in the text. "Content analysis is potentially one of the most important research techniques in the social sciences. The content analyst views data as representations not of physical events but of texts, images, and expressions that are created to be seen, read, interpreted, and acted on for their meanings, and must, therefore, be analyzed with such uses in mind. Analyzing texts in the contexts of their uses distinguishes content analysis from other methods of inquiry."[45]

In general, the qualitative researcher will gather a huge quantity of data from libraries, interviews, observations, and field notes. Content analysis also includes a description of how the data will be organized and interpreted and a discussion of the significance of the study.[46]

Content analysis also deals with issues associated with the study's soundness and dependability and talks about the strategies that will be utilized to boost credibility.[47]Content analysis is a research tool used to ascertain the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts. Researchers measure and analyze the presence, meanings, and relationships of such words and concepts, then make inferences about the messages within the texts, the writer(s), the audience, and even the culture and time of which these are a component. Texts can be distinct broadly as books, book chapters, essays, interviews, discussions, newspaper headlines and articles, historical documents, speeches, conversations, advertising, theater, informal conversation, or in fact any incidence of communicative language.[48]The content analysis concentrates on analyzing and making inferences from documented material to study human conduct. The materials analyzed can be textbooks, newspapers, web pages, speeches, television programs, advertisements, musical compositions, public records, reports, or any of a host of other types of documents. Content analysis typically starts with a question that the researcher considers can be answered by studying documents.

"Every content analysis requires a context within which the available texts are examined. The analyst must, in effect, construct a world in which the texts make sense and can be used to answer the analyst's research questions. A context renders perceptual data into readable texts and serves as the conceptual justification for reasonable interpretations, including for the results of the content analysis."[49] Content analysis is sometimes quantitative, such as when I investigate the 9th, 10th and 12th-grade school

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[45] Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis*, *An Introduction to Its Methodology,* Sage Publications, Inc., California, 2004, p. xiii, *file:///C:/Users/ %20Afreen/OneDrive/Documents/intro_to_content_analysis.pdf*

[46] Donald Ary Lucy Cheser Jacobs Chris Sorensen, *Introduction to Research in Education*, Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2010, CA, p. 589. *http://www.modares.ac.ir/uploads/Agr.Oth.Lib.12.pdf*, p.589.

[47]Ibid, p.588-9.

[48]Writing@CSU | The Writing Studio, Content Analysis, An Introduction to Content Analysis, Colorado State University, *https://writing.colostate.edu/guides/page.cfm?pageid=1305&guideid=61*

[49] Klaus Krippendorff, Content Analysis, An Introduction to Its Methodology, Op.Cit. p.24.

science textbooks to determine the extent of cited, but irrelevant, Quranic verses.[50] For instance, in Biology Textbook for grade XII, published by Sindh textbook board, Jamshoro 2016, has quotes from the Quran in 4 out of 13 chapters. The content analysis concentrates on the characteristics of materials and inquires "What meaning is reflected in these?"

Content analysis is extensively used in education. The following are some of the objectives of content analysis in educational research:

1. To recognize bias, prejudice, or propaganda in textbooks. For example, I have analyzed the Pakistan Studies 10th-grade book and observed that minorities are mentioned with prejudice and women are described as inferiors.
2. To analyze the types and frequencies of errors (such as in spelling or grammar) in textbooks.
3. To describe existing practices in pedagogy.
4. To determine the level of difficulty of the material. For instance, the Urdu textbooks, are very difficult for the speakers of other languages (Urdu is the mother tongue of only 7.57% of Pakistanis[51]). Hence the vocabulary level of the fourth-grade textbooks in many districts is far lower than the curriculum requires.[52]

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Patterns of discourse power and access are certainly narrowly connected with social power. Thus, while common people only have active access to, and power over such discourse genres as daily chats with family members, associates, or colleagues, and more passive access to institutional (e.g. bureaucratic) discourse and media discourse. The elites have approach to and power over a vast range of informal as well as public and institutional types of text and talk. They have power over, or preferential access, to the most powerful and significant genres of discourse in society. Such access is defined in terms of their (influential) social or institutional position or role and, vice versa, their control of or access to particular types of institutional or public discourse upholds and enhances their power.[53] "Preferential access to, and control over discourse and its properties are forms of the direct enactment of social or institutional power. They allow specific social actors to engage in (verbal) action that is prohibited to others, or they may be forced or obliged by others to engage in discourse or to use discourse properties as desired by the powerful actor, thereby limiting the freedom (and hence the power) of the less powerful. Discourse, however, is not limited to verbal action but also involves meaning, interpretation, and understanding. This means that preferential access to public discourse or control over its properties (e.g. specific preferred topics) may also affect the minds of others. That is, powerful social actors not only control communicative action but indirectly also the mind of recipients."[54] Altogether, powerful orators may have power over at least some fractions of the minds of the addressees. CDA studies the methods by

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[50] Donald Ary Lucy Cheser Jacobs Chris Sorensen, *Introduction to Research in Education*, Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2010, Canada, p. 30, *http://www.modares.ac.ir/uploads/Agr.Oth.Lib.12.pdf.*

[51] Population by Mother Tongue.xlsx , (In Percent), *http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/tables/POPULATION%20BY%20MOTHER%20TONGUE.pdf*

[52] Donald Ary Lucy Cheser Jacobs Chris Sorensen, *Introduction to Research in Education*, Op. Cit. *http://www.modares.ac.ir/uploads/Agr.Oth.Lib.12.pdf*, p. 457.

[53] Teun A. van Dijk, Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis, JD Japanese Discourse Vol. I (1995), 17-27, p. 20. http*://discourses.org/OldArticles/Aims%20of%20Critical%20Discourse%20Analysis.pdf*

[54] Ibid, p.21.

which such power and control of the mind are socially or morally illicit, e.g., when powerful, self-serving orators have power over the minds of others in a manner that is in the interest of the powerful. Influencing such models or the beliefs on which they are established may be an efficient way to (indirectly) have power over the actions of other people.[55] "Critical Discourse Analysis----- is a special approach in discourse analysis which focuses on the discursive conditions, components, and consequences of power abuse by dominant (elite) groups and institutions. It examines patterns of access and control over contexts, genres, text, and talk, their properties, as well as the discursive strategies of mind control. It studies discourse and its functions in society and the ways society, especially forms of inequality, are expressed, represented, legitimated, or reproduced in text and talk. CDA does so in opposition to against those groups and institutions who abuse their power, and in solidarity with dominated groups, e.g., by discovering and denouncing discovering dominance, and by cooperating in the empowerment of the dominated."[56]

I am using Critical Discourse Analysis because it is problem-and issue-oriented. It is an explicitly critical approach for relating the text to relevant social problems and forms of social inequality. How is the text placed and whose wellbeing was served by this positioning? Whose interests are annulled? What are the effects of this stance?

According to Micheal Biling, a former Professor of Social Sciences at Loughborough University from 1985 to 2017, "The first and most important factor is that critical approaches claim to be critical of the present social order. Van Dijk (1993) writes that the targets of Critical Discourse Analysis are power elites that sustain social inequality and injustice... Critical Discourse Analysis is seen to be a means of criticizing the social order. Critical Discourse Analysis does not claim to be 'critical' because of a technical or methodological difference from other approaches. It is claimed that Critical Discourse Analysis, is critical because it is rooted in a radical critique of social relations."[57]

When studying the part of the discourse in society, CDA specifically focuses on (group) relations of power, dominance, and disparity, and the methods by which these are reproduced or opposed by social groups via text or talk. To a great extent, CDA deals with the discursively enacted or legitimated structures and strategies of dominance and resistance in social relationships of class, gender, ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, language, religion, age, nationality or world region. A great deal of work in CDA is about the fundamental ideologies that take part in the promulgation of or confrontation against power or disparity. Amongst the illustrative, explanatory, and pragmatic objectives of CDA studies, is the effort to unearth, disclose, or find out what is tacit, covert or otherwise not immediately evident in relations of discursively enacted power or their fundamental ideologies. In other words, CDA particularly concentrates on the policies of exploitation and legitimization, as well as the construction of consent and other discursive means used to manipulate the minds (and indirectly the actions) of people in the interest of the influential. This attempt to unearth the discursive means of mental manipulation and

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[55] Ibid, p.22.

[56] Ibid, p.24.

[57] Michael Billig, Critical Discourse Analysis and the Rhetoric of Critique, in *Critical Discourse Analysis Theory and Interdisciplinarity* Ed. Gilbert Weiss and Ruth Wodak, Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., NY. 2003, p.38. *https://anekawarnapendidikan.files.wordpress.com/2014/05/critical-discourse-analysis-by-gilbert-weis.pdf*

social influence signifies a critical and oppositional position against the powerful and the elites, and particularly those who take advantage of their power.[58]

Review of Significant Literature

One book worth special mention is Akhtar Hassan Malik's Ph.D. thesis, *A Comparative Study of Elite-English-Medium Schools, Public Schools, and Islamic Madaris in Contemporary Pakistan: The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities*". It was published in 2015 by Oman: Euro-Khaleeji Research and Publishing House. He sat and observed in the classes of K-12 schools, including elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Madrasas. His classroom observations are evidence for the drastic differences between the performance and behavior of the elite school teachers, and the teachers' performance and behavior in public schools and Madrasas. The fact that pedagogy in Madrasas is based on sectarianism and otherness has become obvious via this work.

Another important book is Masooda Bano's *The Rational Believer, Choices, and Decisions in the Madrasas of Pakistan,* it was published in 2012 by Cornell University Press USA. Her research provides unique and insightful details about the pyramid-like structure of Madrasa hierarchy in Pakistan. Accordingly, the elite (highest) Madrasas provide research opportunities and the non-elite (lowest) Madrasas, rely on having students memorize the Quran. Bano illustrates that the competition among Madrasas and the Ulama within them to develop to a level comparable to the international educational institutions. For an Alim (singular of Ulama) to ascend to the peak level of the religious hierarchy, s/he has to possess both "caliber" and "capital," and draw the benefaction of the oligarchy, i.e. those in business, the government, and most likely the army. [59]

Another important work is Tariq Rahman's *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A survey of students and teachers at Pakistan's Urdu and English language-medium schools and Madrassas,* published in 2004 by Oxford University Press Pakistan. Rahman has sought to navigate the uneven, complex and multi-layered terrain confronting those who aspire to challenge structural inequalities in Pakistani society. His arguments are based on government data, empirical evidence, personal experience, and reflexive observations. This work successfully uses policy document and official census data to outline effectively the link between 'educational apartheid' and the need for greater social cohesion and social justice in Pakistani society. This notable work covers the entire realm of customary schooling, including all the major types of schools, informal education, and post-school governance and administration in Pakistan.

Hence, based on the provided data and empirical research, Rahman uniquely documented that the Urdu language-medium schools, Madrassas and elite English language-medium schools (both cadet colleges and private institutions) are divided according to the medium of instruction and curriculum, over and above socio-economic class. The English language-medium schools accommodate the middle, upper-middle, and upper classes; the Urdu language-medium schools are limited to the lower-middle and working classes, and the Madrassas generally offer education for poor, marginalized, or very religious

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[58] Teun A. van Dijk, Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis, JD Japanese Discourse Vol. I (1995), 17-27, Pp. 17-18. http://discourses.org/OldArticles/Aims%20of%20Critical%20Discourse%20Analysis.pdf

[59] Masooda Bano, The Rational Believer, Choices and Decisions in the Madrasas of Pakistan, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), p.77.

people. The expenditures by society (i.e. the entrepreneurs for private schools) and the state (for public schools) are responsible for class divisions in Pakistan. Alarmingly, the worldview of the students of these institutions, particularly the Madrasas and private English language-medium schools, is so polarized on matters of militancy and tolerance (of religious minorities and women) that they seem to dwell in violently opposed worlds. This may be an important source for perpetuating social instability, internal conflict, and violence in Pakistan.

The other significant work that is worth mentioning in regards to curriculum reform is, Maryam Siddiqa Lodhi's *Politics of Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan, Islamization and Enlightened Moderation, Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan Between Islamization and Enlightened Moderation,* published by Iqbal International Institute for Research and Dialogue, International Islamic University Pakistan, in 2016. She has focused her work on the era of Generals Zia and Musharraf. Even though both military leaders' educational policies seem very different (Zia's intense Islamization on all levels versus Musharraf's Modernization) Lodhi shows that their thinking paralleled each other, and their ultimate objectives were similar.

According to her, both military leaders used the issue of Madrasa reform for their own legitimacy and so the more needy institutions were overlooked. "Both the leaders headed towards the maximization of personal political interests to strengthen their military regimes. There were numerous institutions of the state that were even in a more wretched condition than the Madrasas and were required urgent care, but Madrasas were picked up readily by both the regimes for reforms."[60] However, she focuses only on the issue of incorporation of national curriculum into Madrasas. This is a problem in much of the literature. For the most part, scholars ignore Madrasa curriculum issue while they deal with the issue of incorporation of the national curriculum in Madrasas. I found a dearth of discussion for the development of Madrasa curriculum itself.

[60] Maryam Siddiqa Lodhi, Politics of Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan, Islamization and Enlightened Moderation, Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan Between Islamization and Enlightened Moderation, (Islambad: Iqbal International Institution for Research and Dialogue (IRD), International Islamic University, 2016), pp.4-5.

Introduction

Historical Roots of Current Problems in Pakistan's Education System

To understand the beginnings of the issues surrounding Pakistan's educational problems, we must look at Pakistan's history with India prior to the partition. Most of the problems were inherited from British India, which was a complex society. One of the factors that influenced Pakistani society deeply was the gradual evolution of religious identities during British rule. There are two additional challenges: the kind of education inherited from the British and the residual elitism of the caste system which, while not being as important as the first factor, affected it.

The most basic factor is the gradual evolution of religious identities during British rule. India's dominant social categories had always been cast/class oriented. Hence, the Mughals preferred high caste Hindus to low-caste Muslims in their administrations. "…the Mughal alliance with the Rajput princes was a key building block of the empire, many Rajput princesses became Mughal wives. All nobles held manṣabs, which were hierarchically ranked".[61] The adult royal princes and nobility dominated all the senior military and political positions in this system, which was reliant on their organizational abilities, their military prowess, and their entrepreneurial skills.[62] Thus, the military always had Rajputs as officers. Muslims themselves have abided by social hierarchies within their own societies. Therefore, Hindus who anticipated moving out of their original caste hierarchies by converting to Islam found themselves in another hierarchy, at the same status level. Among the Indian Muslims, a "two-tier hierarchy" emerged. The upper class, Sharif Jat, consisted of Muslim converts who were of high Hindu castes and immigrant Muslims. The lower class, Ajlaf Jat, consisted of Muslim converts from lower castes. By itself, conversion to Islam did not offer much of a substitute to the prevailing caste system. [63]

Another important factor is that the British colonials crystallized the social classification of ashrāf, the well-born or privileged. This was characterized by command of standard Urdu, the use of hierarchically *"right manners"*, and assertions of descent from historically celebrated lineages.[64] "The terms *ashrāf* ("noble") and *ajlāf* or *aṭrāf* ("lowly") were generally used to refer to the two categories. There are distinctions based on birth even at the level of ashrāf society, between *syed* (Ar., *Sayyid;* supposedly, the descendants of the Prophet), *Shaykh* (of Arab origin), *Mughal* (descendants of Central Asian Turks), and *Pathan* (of Afghan origin). However, it is mostly in the lower strata of Muslim society that caste restrictions are still common today, based on

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[61] Francis Robinson, "Mughal Empire", The Nobility, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/article/opr/t236/e0549?_hi=7&_pos=1#match.

[62] Ibid, "Organization of the Empire".

[63] Yeonhwa Lee, "A Social History of Hindustan: The Indian Caste System and non-Hindu Influences", Korean Minjok Leadership Academy International Program, Term Paper, AP European History Class, September 2008, https://www.zum.de/whkmla/sp/0910/yeonhwa/yeonhwa3.html#iii2.

[64] Barbara D. Metcalf, "India", The Nineteenth Century and Establishment of British Institutions, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/article/opr/t236/e0361#IndiaintheEighteenthCentury

Hindu notions of the purity and impurity of occupations. Many of the lower endogamous groups, like *Dhobi*(launderer), *Kalu* (oil presser), *Jolha* (weaver), and *Hajjam* (barber), still maintain strict rules governing the conduct of their caste groups and will not intermarry or eat with others. The members of these groups maintain close contact with their respective clan even when they are away, and their "caste councils" play an important role in their communal life. This is particularly common among South Indian, lower-caste Muslims."[65] Conceivably, for this reason, most Muslim political leaders belonged to the higher class. "In the Punjab and Bengal, landlord parties emerged that expressed a powerful class rather than religious interest."[66]

However, as Mughal weakness vis-a-vis British became apparent, civil society – led by religious authorities – struggled to strengthen society vis-a-vis the foreigners. Consequently, in the 18th century, the emergence of Muslim, as well as Hindu educational reform, ensued.[67] According to Metcalf, leaders of the ulama also acted in response to the changed circumstances. In 1867, a group of ulama acquainted with British institutions through government services established the Dar al-Ulum at Deoband. Deoband was envisioned to provide bureaucratically organized schooling in the traditional education of the ulama. Students pursued a six-year course, moving via a fixed syllabus, taking formal exams, and participating in convocations. The school was specifically renowned for its work in hadith and by the end of the century had started a network of schools that have continued to grow to the present. Deoband also pioneered the use of extensive fundraising in an era when scholars could not rely on state benefaction.[68] These educational reform movements gradually became trans-regional (i.e., "national") for the first time, and also hardened religious identities -- "Muslim" and "Hindu" -- in ways that could be instrumentalized by the British. The ultimate results on the sociopolitical level were the communal conflicts that resulted in the horrors of Partition, and the ongoing communal and sectarian hostilities in Pakistan.

Before the arrival of the British, teachers had experienced a higher status in the subcontinent among adherents of all faiths. They were the propagators of knowledge, and the molders of the "understanding heart, the seeing mind"[69]. No one questioned their authority or autonomy in selecting suitable texts, or in planning courses for their students. Frequently, they taught religious affairs in combination with literacy skills in their own languages. They imparted skills beneficial to the village community. However, all of that was brought to a hasty halt. As stated by Krishna Kumar Director of the National Council of Educational Research and Training:[70] "The new colonial system of education

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[65]Charles C. Stewart, "Popular Religion", Principal Features, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, *http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/article/opr/t236MIW/e0642?_hi=6&_pos=4#PrincipalFeatures*

[66]Barbara D. Metcalf, "India", Twentieth Century to Partition, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, *http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/article/opr/t236/e0361#IndiaintheEighteenthCentury*

[67] Barbara D. Metcalf, "India", The Nineteenth Century and Establishment of British Institutions, *http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/article/opr/t236/e0361#IndiaintheEighteenthCentury*

[68] Ibid.

[69] Shad Moarif, "Rattafication and the Raj", *The Friday Times*, Lahore, Issue: 02 March, 2018, *http://www.thefridaytimes.com/tft/rattafication-and-the-raj/*

[70] Ibid.

centralized official control eroded the teacher's autonomy by denying him any initiative in matters pertaining to the curriculum. It also imposed on the teacher the responsibility to fulfill official routines, such as maintenance of admission registers, daily diaries, a record of expenditure, and test results." In contrast to the civil service, law or medicine, "school teaching meant a socially powerless, low-paid job… A substantial part of a school teacher's daily routine consisted of fulfilling official requirements such as the maintenance of accurate records of admission, tests, and money." Failure to execute these non-teaching duties resulted in penalties (salary reductions). It inculcated a paralyzing dread and timorous conduct among teachers, who floundered at the lowest position of the education hierarchy. For example, in 1920, a teacher in the United Provinces was paid Rs17 per month, a sub-deputy Inspector Rs70 per month and a Deputy Inspector Rs170 per month. Authority and class were allocated accordingly. A teacher's salaries for a lifetime could be endangered by a displeased Sub-Deputy Inspector who criticized a child's conduct in classroom inspection. It generated a culture of self-degrading servility among teachers. Furthermore, the written examination initiated by the British was used to centrally regulate all fundamental aspects of education: teaching in the classroom, subject matter, textbooks, classroom, and administrative procedures. Only those subjects that could be analyzed by means of written tests were taught.

The most important problem was that the colonial rulers considered the teachers to be deficient in linguistic proficiency or intelligence to assess student responses that diverged from a customary and traditional standard vocabulary. When there was divergence, it would be much simpler for teachers to presume the students had not studied their textbooks. This encouraged rote memorization and not real learning. Even in studying mathematics, students regurgitated already worked out problems form the teacher's notes or that had been copied from the board. Teachers were expected by their colonial rulers to stress the authority of the textbook and the words of the teacher over and above all kinds of rational thinking. Non-elite Pakistanis identify the ghosts of the colonial system in the current educational system. Our curriculum flourishes in the dark shadows of a colonial era, unbalanced, unchallenged and unchanged.[71]

The educational reforms carried out by local and colonizing forces during British colonialized India have proven to be decisive in later centuries. In the 1780s the East India Company educated only the limited number of people whom it required to run the businesses of the government. The foremost interest of the Company was to hoard as much money as viable for sending to England and not to expend money on the education of Indians.[72]However, to strengthen the roots of the British Empire in the country, in 1813 East India Company was compelled to take on the education of the Indians.[73] However, its imposition of English as the medium of instruction not only bequeathed a great set-back to the development of Indian languages and their literature but also widened the social divide, which ultimately reinforced the class-system. "The evil results of English as the medium of instruction soon came upon the surface. It created such a group of persons who were Indians in birth and complexion, but mentally regarding themselves as Englishmen. These Indians became the connecting link between the English rulers and the general public to be ruled over. They became more interested in

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ram Nath Sharma, Rajendra Kumar Sharma, *History of Education in India*, (New-Delhi: Atlantic, 2012), p.75

[73] Ibid, p.79.

safeguarding the interests of the English people at the cost of the interest of Indians."[74]They were called WOGS (Western-oriented Gentlemen), who would always co-operate with British rulers in the exploitation of Indians.[75] "The lower classes, which potentially had the power to overthrow imperial domination, were perceived as being most in need of being controlled, managed, and administered. This could be done by educating the upper classes and enlisting their help in administering the masses. The need to materially and conceptually control and manage a large class of natives impressed upon colonial administrators the importance of education."[76] The upper classes were demanding an English education so as to revive their traditional dominance and prominence which had been lessened by foreign rule.[77]

In British Colonial India, English knowledge and ideas were considered to be scientific and therefore nobler than an indigenous divine knowledge. This had the effect of maintaining the sense of superiority of the victors over the subjugated native Indians. Formerly, Muslim invaders and victors had represented their language and culture as nobler than that of indigenous Indians. The Muslims had inaugurated Persian as a court language and it was displaced by English with the founding of the East India Company's government. Amongst Indian Muslims, modern scientific education materialized as the cultural weapon of the affluent Muslims against the threat from learned Hindus. Modern education in India was adopted by Muslims as an effort to maintain their class power relative to Hindus and underprivileged Muslims.

The short-term objectives of colonial governance and the administration of locals were in conflict with educating the common people in general. These objectives could be more effortlessly attained by giving English learning to a small group of the time-honored upper classes, which would then become intellectually and morally compelled to follow imperial interests. It was more viable to take advantage of the traditional class structure and strengthen it with the differentiating effects of modern education than to try to draw all the local Indians to English interests. To achieve these goals, education was hierarchized and dichotomized.[78] The English administrators attempted to absolve their consciences by reasoning that the education given to the upper classes would filter down to the common people. However, the ruling structure reinforced by the British educational policy continued intact and Western education never filtered down to the common people.[79]The bureaucratic class generated as a result of this education system jealously shielded its power. The masses remained uneducated and class demarcations increased because of Western education. For the middle classes, this education became the cultural capital they used to distinguish themselves from the lower classes and often also from the less educated within the nobility. English proficiency was a new fortune; educated civil servants were the new aristocracy.[80] The classes predominantly affected by the weakening of Muslim culture were the nobility and upper classes. The masses had never benefited from power or privileges even during

[74] Ibid, p.77.
[75] Ibid, p.83.
[76] Rubina Saigol, *Education: Critical Perspectives*, (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1993), p.142.
[77] Ibid, p.147.
[78] Ibid, p.157.
[79] Ibid, p. 153.
[80] Ibid, 159.

Muslim regime.[81] "The colonial policy of winning the traditional nobility to its side resulted in the landlords becoming powerful. Colonial administrative policy consolidated the position of landlords and even created more landlords by awarding estates to loyal servants and friends. As a result, landlordism was deeply entrenched at the time of independence from British rule and landlords still dominate Pakistan's political parties.

Pakistan emerged as a postcolonial nation in 1947. "The regions comprising Pakistan were relatively backward in all respects, including in education. At independence, 85 percent of the population was illiterate and in the more backward regions of the country, e.g. Balochistan, the literacy rate was even lower, with the rate for rural women therein being virtually zero."[82] Muhammad Ali Jinnah, its founder, in his inaugural address, said: *"There is no doubt that the future of our State will and must greatly depend upon the type of education we give to our children and the way in which we bring them up as future citizens of Pakistan."*[83] However, as time passed, this priority for education did not progress further than rhetoric.

Independence from British rule was achieved by legal and constitutional methods, however, the infrastructure and class system remained intact, which has had ramifications for the educational system. The colonial administrative machinery, produced by means of English education and civil service remain intact as well as the colonial bureaucratic structure. Some British thinkers discouraged the development of a commercial class that could have challenged feudalism and introduced modern ideas, science, and technology to India. An indigenous commercial class would have competed with English imports for which India was a rich market."[84]

According to Hamza Alavi, a noted Pakistani social scientist, the metropolitan bourgeoisie who spearheaded the revolution had to "create state apparatus through which it can exercise dominion over all the indigenous social classes in the colony."[85] The result was the creation of a powerful bureaucratic military system and apparatuses of government which facilitates, through their customary operations, the subordination of the indigenous social classes. At the time of independence, frail native bourgeoisie found themselves ensnared in bureaucratic webs whose growth could not be controlled by the earlier metropolitan government.[86] It was necessary to harmonize the interests of three classes who owned property: the metropolitan bourgeoisie, the indigenous bourgeoisie, and the landed classes (who had owned property for generations) while "at the same time acting on behalf of them all to preserve the social order (based on private property and capitalism) in which their interests were embedded."[87]However, Alavi further goes on to say that the mechanism of state does not,

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[81] Ibid, p. 160.

[82] Kaiser Bengali, History of Educational Policy Making and Planning in Pakistan, Working Paper Series # 40 , 1999 by the Sustainable Development Policy Institute, p.1. http://www.sdpi.org/publications/files/W40-History%20of%20Educational%20Policy%20Making.pdf

[83] "Proceedings of the Pakistan Educational Conference", Ministry of the Interior, Education Division (1947), as referred by Ibid.

[84] Ibid, p. 167.

[85] Hamza Alavi, *The State in Post-Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh*, New Left Review; London Vol. 0, Iss. 74, (Jul 1, 1972): https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B07yGbz1WxbLUG9CSzhRd214cjQ/edit, p. 61.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid, p.62.

however, consist only of the bureaucratic-military oligarchy. Politicians and political parties also form a part of it.

The political leaders acquired the uppermost offices in the state, officially invested with power over the bureaucracy and military. Politicians and political parties stand at the center of a complicated set of relationships. On the one hand, they are expected (in an ideal situation) to articulate the forceful requests of those from whom they got votes; they are expected to fulfill requests as a part of operating within the government. On the other hand, they also play a crucial part in influencing public relations in the best interests of those who do formulate public policy, to make it good enough for society in general. For that, they channel public complaints and seek to cultivate an 'understanding' of public matters that would lessen prospective opposition. Their connection with the bureaucratic-military oligarchy is, therefore, competitive but also complimentary. The potential for conflicts of interest is immense when politicians who acquire high-level public office can influence the careers of individual members of the bureaucracy or the military.[88]

The three landowning classes (politicians, bureaucrats, and military), have been united in their support of the social order against revolutionary movements.[89] In post-colonial societies, the near- sovereignty of the state mechanism is therefore different from a typical Marxist theory of the state. Although the bureaucratic+ military oligarchy has its position within the social matrix, it is somewhat independent (it can be said to have some sovereignty) because once the control by the metropolitan bourgeoisie was withdrawn at the time of independence, no single class had control over either the military or the bureaucrats.

The small elite class justified ruling and strengthening their status quo by designing a tax system in which the elites give less than 5% to tax revenue in spite of the fact that they accumulate over 44% of the wealth of the country.[90] They also have crafted a sub-standard curriculum for lower classes to keep them away from development. This explains one of the original questions I posed-- why and how the small elite class has been autonomously ruling since Pakistan's independence.

The bureaucracy and the military in Pakistan are highly advanced and powerful in contrast to other classes. Domination through bureaucracy has been used by bureaucrats and the military to restrict business opportunities to a privileged few. In the late 1960s, the principal economist to the government of Pakistan disclosed that 20 privileged families possessed 66 percent of Pakistan's industry, 79 percent of the insurance companies, and 80 percent of its banking and that most of the rest was owned by foreign companies.[91] "Big businessmen in Pakistan have adopted the practice of awarding profitable directorships to retiring generals, and thus they have tried to establish relationships with factions in the army. As regards dealings with foreign powers, a remarkable fact about the political situation in Pakistan has been the ability of the army to have direct dealings with foreign powers (notably the USA) over the

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[88] Ibid, p.62.

[89] Ibid, p.73.

[90] F.M. Shakil, Rich Pakistanis Pay Little Under Country's Unjust Tax System, July 11, 2017, *Asia Times, South Asia Pakistan,* http://www.atimes.com/article/rich-pakistanis-pay-little-countrys-unjust-tax-system/

Only 0.6 per cent of the population pays taxes in Pakistan, as against 4.7 per cent in India, 58 per cent in France and 80 per cent in Canada. http://www.aboardthedemocracytrain.com/less-than-1-percent-of-pakistanis-pay-tax-survey

[91] Hamza Alavi, *The State in Post-Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh*, New Left Review; London Vol. 0, Iss. 74, (Jul 1, 1972): https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B07yGbz1WxbLUG9CSzhRd214cjQ/edit, p.69.

heads of the government in office. These varieties of affiliations and interests have resulted in powerfully entrenched positions within the army who act on behalf of the various vested interests. A parallel situation occurs within the bureaucracy, for many bureaucrats come from landed families and have acquired extensive business interests; some have become millionaires."[92]

Moreover, in spite of industrialization and modernization in certain fields, predominantly feudal values govern society even now. Industrial workforces are restrained by the overwhelming dominance of the military machine, as there are too many rules and taxes for small businesses and large businesses are typically owned directly or indirectly by the military or government. Women have been trapped in the centuries-old traditions of household bondage. Numerous martial laws have held back the political process which, by itself, might generate new leaders and new approaches. The bureaucrats also have an interest in upholding the retrograde feudal way of thinking. The weak classes such as farmers are tied to the indigenous landlords in powerless bondage. None of these factions seems to be able to advance ideas for change.[93]

There are other lingering impacts, including the dominance in the education sphere of neo-conservative religious authorities. The term neo-conservative is used for organizations such as the Jamaat-i Islami because they were not traditionally trained Ulama and thus were very innovative in some ways, but very conservative on social issues. Pakistan state efforts to manage national education have never been very successful, and the Jamaat-i Islami and others have stepped into the breach. The most important point in this context is the complicated layering of factors, which has created the context in which the neo-conservatives have managed to dominate education in Pakistan today. The modernized elite who created Pakistan stayed in authority for the first few years of Pakistan's history. Throughout Ayub Khan's period, on the one hand, the bureaucracy was being strengthened and on the other, a capitalist class was being backed. Modern ideas and education had a great deal of popularity in that period. The challenge to this thought came from neo-conservatives, basically Jamat-i-Islam and their counterparts, who believe modernity begets immorality; it gives freedom to women and so forth, thus it is *un-Islamic*. The neo-conservatives reaffirmed the significance of religious and Quranic knowledge. The bureaucracy enviously shielded its power by monopolizing the privilege of high-quality, modern education, while teaching *"Islamic values"* to others. Education is the capital of the bureaucratic class; it is its "right" to rule, regulate, manipulate, and direct the masses. Therefore, both establishments that rely greatly on scientific expertise and education, the army and the bureaucracy, upheld their authority by averting the dissemination of knowledge to the common people. This remained the British custom of *not* educating the common people, only the *elite!* [94]

As Sir Michael Barber, Co-chair Pakistan Education Task Force, aptly stated, "Once the complexities are untangled, the central explanation seems to be, simply, that for most of the decades since Pakistan became independent, providing a good education for every child has not been a priority. A sympathetic observer might point out that Pakistan has faced many challenges, some truly existential, over those decades. The recent floods are by no means the only devastating crisis this beleaguered country has had to face. A less sympathetic observer might reply that other countries facing similar challenges (including,

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[92] Ibid p.67-8.
[93] Rubina Saigol, *Education: Critical Perspectives*, Op.Cit. p.134-5.
[94] Ibid, p. 136.

for example, South Korea and Taiwan) have not neglected education and suggest that, perhaps for much of that time, some of those who have ruled Pakistan have not wished to see the mass of the population educated"[95]. Barber further mentioned Mehnaz Aziz's excerpt, “the problem is feudalism. People [in the elite] think that if we educate the people, they will revolt.”[96] Barber also cited the Minister of Education's reinforcement of the point, “In the past, we saw our population as our greatest liability, not our greatest asset.”[97] "As a result of the floods in northern Sindh and southern Punjab, many bonded laborers and their families have fled to the cities. Their plight may be desperate there, but for many, this is a first opportunity for their children to obtain an education and as a result, they do not wish to return to the impoverished circumstances in which they found themselves before the waters rose. These people know from their own experience what the minister meant."[98] *Education remains inequitably distributed between different income factions and localities in Pakistan.* Literacy and participation rates are lower than those in other South Asian countries with a comparable level of economic progress.

According to a bill of Parliament approved in the mid-1970, only the Curriculum Wing of the Ministry of Education could prescribe what would be imparted in Pakistan’s schools. The essence of the legislation was to build a Pakistan that would remain together despite its religious, ethnic, and linguistic diversity. Although General Zia-ul-Haq’s imposition of superficial "systematic Islamization" was intended to form a bond between people it intensified the sentiment of exclusivity.

Education in Pakistan is being used as a means of preserving the status quo instead of promoting democracy or spreading egalitarianism or increasing social mobility.[99] The governing elite in Pakistan has intentionally preserved the tattered quality of the education system that exists in both Madrasas and public education, as it suits their vested interests. The elites maintain their control by keeping common people uneducated. It is frequently argued that an oligarchy will resist widespread education for the reason that educated peoples are more willing to demand political power. More educated people will be drawn to political activism and, therefore, more ready to vote for the redistribution of returns and for the withdrawal of power from the oligarchy.[100]

Historically the governments have been exploiting the constitutional fundamental right of equal opportunity for every citizen, i.e. Article 25 (1) “Equality of citizens. All citizens are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law”[101], by providing subsidies, plots, and tax relaxations to

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[95] Sir Michael Barber Co-chair, Pakistan Education Task Force 4 November 2010, Brookings Institution, Education Reform In Pakistan: This Time It’s Going To Be Different, Pp.4-5. *https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/BarberPakistan_Education-Paper.pdf*

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Shamaas Gul Khattak, “A Comparative Analysis of the Elite-English Medium Schools, State Urdu-Medium Schools, and Dini-madaris in Pakistan”, *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Comparative Studies,* Volume 1 No. 1, 2014, pp.92—107, PDF File, p.97.
http://www.ijmcs-journal.org/IJMCS_April214_SKhatta.pdf.

[100] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A Comparative Study of Elite-English-Medium Schools, Public Schools, and Islamic Madaris in Contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu’s Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities", Op.Cit. p.21. *https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf*

[101] Pakistan Const. art.XXV, cl.1.
http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part2.ch1.html

the elite private schools and cadet schools of the country. Moreover, according to the constitution of Pakistan, the elimination of exploitation is a fundamental duty of the government. As Article 3 of the constitution says, "The State shall ensure the elimination of all forms of exploitation and the gradual fulfillment of the fundamental principle, from each according to his ability to each according to his work."[102] Therefore, in order to alleviate the despicable ailment of overwhelming social disparity, the government should change its intents and concerns from exclusively benefitting the privileged class and should start benefiting the common public. An integrated and equitable system of "national education" is fundamental for nation-building.

The need is to develop both the national and Madrasa curriculums. Therefore, one of the foci of this research is to critically examine the elements in the Pakistani national curriculum and Madrasas that foster a sense of national and sectarian division. A pluralistic approach should be the fundamental principle, focusing on respect for humanity regardless of religious affinity in both curriculums.

According to Mumtaz Ahmad, a noted social scientist, scholar and academic, the vast dichotomy in two isolated circles of education cannot be eradicated through a one-sided change. Integration may be possible as a result of a conscientious process of Islamizing schools, harmonizing with the efforts of modernizing Madaris[103]. The need for reform in national education to remove the hatred for minorities is widely held. But the idea of reform in Madrasa education is generally considered as a western idea, which is mostly discarded as an enemy attempt of destabilization. Whereas, Ulama inherently were reformists; they reformed Indian Islam in the British colonial era.[104]

Likewise, Qasim Zaman, Professor of Near Eastern Studies and Religion at Princeton University, argues, that "Many religious scholars, and Madrasas like Deoband, are reformist in the sense of seeking change in existing styles of religious beliefs and practice. It can be argued, in fact, that their claim to religious authority is rooted, in part at least, on their reformist credentials."[105] Yet today demands to reform Madrasas from Western countries like Great Britain and the USA, may become a hindrance as discussed in detail in chapter 4.

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[102] Pakistan Const. art.III, cl.3.
http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part1.html

[103] Mumtaz Ahmad, Husnul Amin, A Documentary History of Islamic Education in Pakistan, (Islamabad: Emel Publications, IRD, 2016), vol.2, p.74. Interim Report on Islamization of Education by Commission on Islamization of Education Islamabad 1992 (Constituted under Shariah Act X of 1992).

[104] Hence, Deoband was greatly distinct from its precursors, as Barbara Metcalf has indicated, in "emulating the British bureaucratic style for educational institutions, in fact, eschewed the informal pattern of education that the scene under the pomegranate conjures up… it acquired classrooms and a central library. It was run by professional staff, and its students were admitted for a fixed course of study and required to take examinations for which prizes were awarded at a yearly convocation. Gradually an informal system of affiliated colleges emerged." Metcalf, Barbara Daly. Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900. Princeton University Press, 1982. JSTOR, *www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7zvmm2*, p.93. Soon Madrasas everywhere in the Indian subcontinent followed Deobandi pattern of formal teaching.

[105] Qasim Zaman, "Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reform: The Madrasa in British India and Pakistan", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 41, Issue 2 April 1999 , pp. 294-323, PDF File, p.316, *https://www-cambridge-org.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/98C4232C3B0528DEFBB0B71419F6A3C8/S0010417599002091a.pdf/religious_education_and_the_rhetoric_of_reform_the_madrasa_in_british_india_and_pakistan.pdf*

I have tried throughout the work to collect the facts and explain their relevance by closely connecting them so that the information speaks for itself. Throughout, I have tried to show that the profound and ever-increasing disparity, hopelessness, and the deficiencies in the education system in the lower-classes have resulted in the intolerance and insecurity in Pakistani society. In the end, I hope that this study will support the silenced voices of open-minded interpreters of Islam, who are the supporters of equality, social justice, and pluralism. As the International Crisis Group's report suggests, "To combat religious extremism and sectarian violence, Pakistan must reform its education sector by boosting resources to public schools and updating the school curriculum to improve quality and remove divisive and discriminatory narratives."[106]

[106] Education Reform in Pakistan, Internationall Crisis Group, Report N°257/Asia , 23 June 2014, *https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/pakistan/education-reform-pakistan*

Chapter 1: The Problems in the National Curriculum

- **First Dimension: Radical Elements of Exclusivity in the Curriculum**
- **Grade 1 General Knowledge**
- **Urdu textbooks, Classes I-VIII**
- **Religious Contents in English Textbooks—not required by the NC2006**
- **The National Curriculum 2006 NC2006**
- **A Comparison between Pakistan's Ministry of Education Curriculum Wing's Designed 'Pakistan Studies' Compulsory for Class IX-X and 'The History & Culture of Pakistan' for O level**
- **Irrelevant Inclusion, a patchwork of Islamic beliefs and Quran verses in the national Curriculum Textbooks of Physics for Class IX-X and Biology for Class XII**
- **Sociological and Psychological Rationalization of Radicalization**
- **The Establishments' Role in Producing Text Books**
- **Second Dimension: Zia-ul-Haq's Systematic Islamization**
- **Wrong Content to Justify Military Governments' Wrongs**
- **Third Dimension: Technical Issues in the Curriculum**
- **Which should be the Language of Instruction? *A question still unresolved***
- **Wrong Content and Excessive Stress on Memorization**
- **Grammar Errors**

Summary

There are three dimensions of this chapter

First, the syllabus contains excessive ideas of superiority of Muslims over non-Muslims and this exclusivity further instills hatred for India. The curriculum also excessively put religion and Pakistan ideology together in most subjects. Furthermore, subjects like Pakistan studies are contaminated with myths instead of factual history; the superiority of Pak-Muslims and deprecation of minorities radicalizes younger minds.

Second, General Zia-ul-Haq's imposition of superficial "systematic Islamization" intensified this sentiment of exclusivity. It was intended to form a bond between people despite religious, ethnic, and linguistic diversity.

Third, there are technical issues such as grammar mistakes and incorrect information. Inaccuracies are detrimental to the learning process. In the sciences, there is an overemphasis on jargon rather than concepts and this emphasis is especially difficult for non-English speakers. The whole system of examination is based on memorization, which limits learning capabilities, as students do not fully understand the concepts and ideas. Moreover, another significant factor in this category that exacerbates radicalization is the language issue. Pakistan's official language is English. All important jobs require English; therefore, the elites' language generally is English. All private schools teach most subjects in English. But Urdu is vehemently imposed throughout Pakistan in the public school curriculum, even though the mother tongue of most Pakistanis is not Urdu. This creates difficulties for

students that may contribute to the high dropout rate. More to the point, this unjust imposition has divided the social classes.

The problems described represent violation of the Constitution Article 22 Safeguards as to educational institutions in respect of religion, etc. clause (1): "No person attending any educational institution shall be required to receive religious instruction, or take part in any religious ceremony, or attend religious worship, if such instruction, ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than his own."[107] This evidently denotes that religious teachings must not be included in a curriculum that is designed for students of every belief, or it violates the Constitution. This also indicates that if Islamic religious lessons are to be incorporated into the school curriculum, they must be only for Muslim students in a distinct subject like Islamic studies (or Islamiat). Subjects like Urdu, English, and Social Studies must not include teachings of Islam.[108] Besides, the persisting repetition of religion and history lessons in subjects other than Islamiat (Islamic studies) and Pakistan studies, takes the space and time for relevant knowledge that reduces the quality of education. The biased teaching of history instills hatred for minorities. The extreme valorization of the military, as well as the glorification of war and martyrdom in school textbooks, makes children passionate for some desperate glory.

First Dimension: Excessive Religious Elements in the Curriculum

The independent Pakistani think tank Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) and the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy (ICRD) assessed over 100 textbooks from grades 1-10 that were used in Pakistan's four provinces. Furthermore, students and teachers from public schools and Madrasas were interviewed in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (previously identified as the North-West Frontier Province), Baluchistan, Sindh, and Punjab. A total of 277 students and teachers were interviewed individually or in group settings in 37 middle and high schools. The outcomes are eye-opening and alarming. Public school textbooks utilized by every child were frequently found to have a potent Islamic orientation, while Pakistan's religious minorities were either mentioned derogatorily or excluded altogether. [109] Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI) mentioned the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF), which is an independent and bipartisan U.S. government commission separate from the State Department, "in 2011 Annual Report, USCIRF found that textbooks used in Pakistani primary and secondary schools foster prejudice and intolerance of religious minorities, especially Hindus and Christians. Such intolerant references are not restricted to Islamic studies textbooks: they are found in both early elementary and more advanced social studies texts used by all public school students, including non-Muslims. Moreover, the textbooks contain stories, biographies, and poems with an Islamic religious character that students of minority faiths must study and be tested on."[110] Education has been a factor in ideological radicalization and extremism in

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[107] Pakistan Const. art. XXII, cl.1.
http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part2.ch1.html

[108] A. H. Nayyar, *A Missed Opportunity, Continuing Flaws in the New Curriculum and Textbooks After Reforms*, Jinnah Institute Islamabad, June 2013, PDF File, p.12 http://eacpe.org/content/uploads/2014/05/A-Missed-Opportunity.pdf.

[109] Ibid, p.10.

[110] Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), *Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas,* Op.Cit. p.9, PDF File, https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf

Pakistani society, which some reports consider to be serious issues in Pakistan.[111] Specifically, some researchers argue that the seeds of hatred in the textbooks are threats to the entire nation. The designers of the curriculum and textbooks and the implementing authorities are responsible for the culture of intolerance. The textbooks are issued by the Ministry of Education's Curriculum Wing.[112]

According to the findings of ten 10 national-level conferences on countering violent extremism held by the Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), Pakistan's constitution ought to be the central basis of theoretical and functioning direction for the development of measures to counter violent extremism.[113] "Curriculum reform is at the heart of education reform. The education extremism link does not come out from those who are uneducated. The worldview presented in the curriculum is not dissimilar to that of the extremists."[114]

Historically, the origin of the forces that led to the culture of intolerance in education and the radicalization occurred in the 1980s Pakistan underwent a process of state-sponsored "Islamization" and began imposing the Saudis' Salafi Islam. There are different factors for the increasing influence of the Saudis' Salafi Islam in Pakistan including the fact that the overseas Pakistanis brought Salafi Islam with them and Saudis funded Madrasas. In addition, the Afghan war diminished the everlasting distance between Wahabi and Deobandi. Their marriage gave them more influence that threatened popular sects like the Barelvis[115] and gave sway to the influential religious leaders like Dr. Farhat Hashmi, who converted the liberal elites of Pakistan into hard-line conservative Salafis, who are generally regarded as Ahl-e-Hadith.

As a result, the school curriculum was changed; Islam was forced into every aspect of education. For instance, Muslims are portrayed as the *only* victims of the partition of the subcontinent; the bloodshed is portrayed as perpetrated by Indians — Hindus and Sikhs. The killings of Hindus and Sikhs by Muslims are ignored. The books on social studies methodically pervert events that have occurred throughout Pakistan's history, including some within the existing memories of numerous people.[116] The idea that Pakistan is meant to be an "Islamic state" in opposition to Hindu-dominated India—is highlighted.

Here are some excerpts from the Curriculum Document for Classes K-V National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks Federal Ministry of Education, 1995.

At the completion of Class-V, the child should be able to:

- "Acknowledge and identify forces that may be working against Pakistan."[pg 154]
- "Demonstrate by actions a belief in the fear of Allah." [pg154]

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[111] "Key Findings", Promoting Inclusive and Tolerant Educational Narratives, Report of three two-day training workshops with teachers, Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), Islamabad, Nov 22, 2017, p.15, PDF File, *https://www.pakpips.com/web/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/PIPS-Promoting-Inclusive-Educational.pdf*.

[112] Anjum James Paul, "Baised Pakistani Text Books", Pakistan Minorities Teachers' Association, October 2014, p.19, PDF File, *http://www.itacec.org/document/learning_resources/2014/BIASED%20%20PAKISTANI%20TEXTBOOKS.pdf*

[113] "Summary", *National Strategy of Inclusive Pakistan, A Policy Framework of Secure and Cohesive Pakistan*, Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies (PIPS), Islamabad, Nov 27, 2017, p. 4, PDF File, *https://pakpips.com/web/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/inclusive-pakistan.pdf*.

[114] Ibid, p.6.

[115] This sect follows the teachings of Ahmad Raza Barelvi, (1856-1921) who lived in the Indian city of Bareilly.

[116] "Publications", Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), Islamabad, *http://www.sdpi.org/publications/publication_details-286-34.html*

- "Make speeches on Jihad and Shahadat" [pg154]
- "Understand Hindu-Muslim differences and the resultant need for Pakistan." [pg154]
- "India's evil designs against Pakistan." [pg154
- "Be safe from rumor mongers who spread false news" [pg158]
- "Visit police stations" [pg158]
- "Demonstrate respect for the leaders of Pakistan" [pg153]"[117]
- "Collect pictures of policemen, soldiers, and National Guards" [pg158]

Prof. Pervez Hoodbhoy[118] mentioned that at the ALIF education conference April 2000, the head of the curriculum wing of Ministry of Education, Dr. Parveen Shahid, flatly denied that these points formed part of the curriculum document. Since he was a fellow of the government appointed the Education Advisory Board, he brought his copy along to her office. Then she said that she did not need his copy because she had multiple copies of the same document (containing exactly the same points). This is one example of how the Federal Ministry of Education, and particularly the Curriculum Wing, openly pursue their intended goals, undeterred by those seeking change. Therefore Education Advisory Board members' demands to discard certain parts of the curriculum and numerous strong reform proposals for school education, have been opposed, ignored, or mutilated out of recognition.[119] "Javed Ashraf Qazi, who served as education minister under President Pervez Musharraf from 2004 to '07, blames politicians for making education a low priority. Qazi calls the education bureaucracy "extremely corrupt and extremely useless." In addition, Qazi admits that because most of Pakistan's ruling elite send their own children to private schools, the health of the country's public education system is rarely a personal problem for government officials."[120]

A.H. Nayyar and Ahmed Salim in 2003 concluded that the rights of religious minorities, which are partially codified in the Constitution of 1973, are not safeguarded by the government of Pakistan, whereas Islam is supported as a controlling power, and frequently made to intrude upon people's lives. The national curriculum mirrors this reality. Nayyar and Salim's research identifies the following: insensitivity to the prevailing religious diversity; promotion of militancy and violence; assertion of bigotry, bias, and discernment for religious minorities; veneration of war and usage of war against non-Muslims; accusing other religions of tyranny and brutality; factual incorrectness; ignoring historical events; and a dearth of constructive values attributed to other religions. Moreover, they found that the significance of Islamic teaching along with the Islamic character of Pakistan was stressed, while

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[117] Pervez Hoodbhoy, "The Menace of Education, What Are They Teaching In Pakistani Schools Today?", 2014/01, p.1, PDF File, *http://eacpe.org/content/uploads/2014/01/The-Menace-Of-Education1.pdf*.

[118]Pervez Amirali Hoodbhoy is a nuclear physicist, and a political-defence analyst. He has been associated with Quaid-e-Azam University as a professor of Physics since the 1970's, and taught in other institutions such as the Lahore University of Management Sciences. He has also served as a member of the United Nations Secretary General's Advisory Board on Disarmament. Dr. Hoodbhoy is the recipient of national and international awards, including the Abdus Salam Prize for Mathematics and IEEE W.R.G Baker Award for Electronics. Hoodbhoy is also a prominent activist in particular concerned with promotion of freedom of speech and education in Pakistan. He is also a prominent environmental and social activist and regularly writes on a wide range of social, cultural and environmental issues.

[119] Pervez Hoodbhoy, "The Menace of Education, What Are They Teaching In Pakistani Schools Today?" Op.Cit. p.2-3.

[120]Bilal Qureshi, "Pakistani School System Highlights Wealth Gap", *NPR News* February 25, 2008, 6:00 AM ET, *http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=19333953*

animosity was advocated for Hindus and Indians. These ideas were particularly predominant in the subjects of Urdu, Social Studies, and English.[121]

The National Curriculum 2006

As mentioned in the National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy and Plan of Action, Vide Notification No. F.8-16/2005-SSG dated 13 June 2007, an Inter-Provincial Standing Committee on Textbook Policy was introduced to control operational and procedural matters, and supervise and organize further execution. The Curriculum Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education was to be the secretariat for the Committee and would be reinforced for the expanded responsibilities.[122]Hence the provincial and federal government collaboratively designed the new curriculum and new textbooks were produced to pacify the raised voices for change for the severe problems in the earlier curriculum and textbooks. The national curriculum for school education was reformatted in 2006, and a national policy on textbooks and studying materials was devised and sanctioned in 2007. It was, however, not later than 2012 that new textbooks pursuing the National Curriculum 2006 (NC2006) were printed and utilized in schools. In 2013 at least in Punjab, a good number of the textbooks that follow NC2006 were being utilized in public schools.[123] Contrary to the previous curriculum documents which appeared completely targeted to indoctrinating students with religion and religious nationalism, NC2006 is more concentrated on learning objectives and benchmarks for learning results. It contains well-defined directives to textbook authors on the theme, objectives, and scope of every topic, and registers the contents to be included in each book. It also includes directions to teachers on teaching methodology and assessment tools. The progress becomes evident in the new textbooks selected by the provinces. A number of them have improved - containing more appealing lessons and exercises and allowing teachers to teach better as well.[124] "Many of the new textbooks are markedly better than the previous ones. This is especially true of English language books for primary grades, books on history and geography in the middle grades, and Urdu textbooks for secondary grades."[125] For instance, Islamiat for grade six published by Urdu Bookstall Lahore, selected by the Punjab curriculum and textbook board in 2016[126], is neutral in its presentation towards all Muslim sects. It starts with the selected small surahs (chapters) of the Quran and then the concept of Tawhid (the concept of monotheism) the fundamentals of Islam for all Muslim sects. Chapter 2 is prayers; it starts with Azan (call to prayer), which is acknowledged by all sects and then Salat (prayer), it beautifully talks about the benefits of prayer and

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[121] A. H. Nayyar and Ahmad Salim, The Subtle Subversion The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan, Report of the project "A Civil Society Initiative in Curricula and Textbooks Reform", Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad, PDF File, *http://unesco.org.pk/education/teachereducation/reports/rp22.pdf*

[122] National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy and Plan of Action, *Government of Pakistan Ministry of Education Curriculum Wing,* P.2, *http://www.itacec.org/document/nep09/Textbook_and_Learning_Materials_Policy_and_Plan_of_Action280607.pdf*

[123] A. H. Nayyar, A Missed Opportunity, Continuing Flaws in the New Curriculum and Textbooks After Reforms, op.Cit. p. 7.

[124] Ibid, p.10

[125] Ibid, p.5

[126]6th Class Islamiat Book (Islamic Study) (Freebooks.pk).pdf, *https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B8q85Osuxn84WEJLOC1xcHIzX2s/edit*

the basic fraiz(obligations) of prayers, funeral obligation, and funeral prayer, and Haj (pilgrimage). These are all fundamental prayers of Islam and accepted and performed in a similar manner by every sect. Chapter 3 is Sirah (life of the Prophet of Islam) and there is no conflict among Muslim sects regarding Sirah. Chapter 4 is Akhlaq-o-Adab (Islamic morality and etiquette)- again there is no conflict with any sect on moral values and teachings. In the end, there are life histories of important heroes of Islam. It impartial in that it has picked those heroes who are respected and revered by all sects like Hazrat Khadija (first wife of the Prophet) (d.619 AD), Hazrat Ali (son in law of the Prophet) (d.661 AD), and Sufi saint Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh Ali Hujwiri (d.1072/77AD). This should be the pattern to be followed for all other religions in other subjects as well. The policy of ignoring differences and focusing on mutual agreements and benefits should be applied in dealing with issues concerning all the members of the society. As the Quran says, "let us come to a word common to us"(3:64). All religions teach similar moral values. Hence, curriculum books should be impartially designed for all Pakistanis, regardless of religion and ethnicity; especially Urdu, Science, and Pakistan studies books.

On the other hand, NC2006 suffers from three very severe defects. 1. It includes directives that violate the constitutional protection provided to the country's non-Muslim citizens; 2. The ideological biases are inherent in the descriptions of the origin of the country and its subsequent history and creation of biases and hatred towards non-Muslim groups. This inhibits the ability of students to rationally analyze and comprehend historical incidents, search and face realities, and ascertain relationships with other nations in an impartial manner; 3. In adhering to religious dictates textbook authors incorporate material that is either not approved by the curriculum, or at least, not approved in the way in which textbook authors prefer to incorporate it. For instance, they find it essential to incorporate lessons on religious teachings, particularly on the many aspects of the Prophet's life and other sacred dignitaries of Islam without recognizing that by doing so they are inflicting Islamic learning on non-Muslim students. They misconstrue the curricular instructions, represent the approved material in religious colors, and go further than the recommendations of the curriculum to include religious ideas in textbooks.[127]

Furthermore, the lack of recognition and respect for existing religious diversity by teachers is a general occurrence. SDPI and ICRD found via an empirical survey that teachers frequently show bias against non-Muslim students; even the intellectually brilliant non-Muslim students, in spite of great attainments, fail to get gratitude and encouragement from their Muslim teachers. Teachers send hidden and open messages to non-Muslim students to convert to Islam; they perpetuate and impose oversimplified standardized images of non-Muslim students, for instance, that they are impure and linked with cleaning and sweeping. In certain cases, teachers use insulting language and physical penalization against non-Muslim students over Muslim students. Muslim students also frequently deal with their non-Muslim associates improperly and ostracize them or see them as "impure" and needing conversion. The ways within the school system for protecting students do not always work and Non-Muslim students are frequently bound to take Islamic Studies— albeit it is not mandatory—either by the teacher or by the lack of a substitute.[128] According to a study conducted in two districts of Sindh {Tharparkar and

[127] A. H. Nayyar, A Missed Opportunity, Continuing Flaws in the New Curriculum and Textbooks After Reforms, op.Cit. p.10-11.

[128] Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), "Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas", Op.Cit. p.114, PDF File, *https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf*

Umerkot} –and two district of the Punjab (Rahimyar Khan and Bahawalpur) for the International Solidarity Network (ISDN) and Indian Institute of Dalit Studies (IIDS) in cooperation with the Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research (PILER) and Thardeep Rural Development Programme (TRDP): "In schools, scheduled caste students are obliged to sit on back seats, leaving the front seats for students from non-scheduled castes. Though they are not asked to do it on a regular basis, the practice has been in place for so long that it has become a custom. Scheduled caste students are also made to clean the schools."[129]

These problems are still apparent in the 2006 curriculum. "According to the Minorities Concern of Pakistan (MCOP), students are encountering problems because of their minority status and faith. They are forced to study from textbooks and curricula that are biased against them and routinely face discrimination and intimidation from Muslim students and teachers."[130] For instance, NC2006) sets a list of themes for chapters in the General Knowledge textbooks for Grades I and II, each with topics containing a theme and the anticipated learning results. Several of the topics and themes are basically lessons of Islam. Each such topics is underlined in the following examples.

Grade 1 General Knowledge

The first chapter/theme is the belief system. Under the title of Our Belief, the curriculum sets the following learning objectives.[131]

Themes	Students' Learning outcomes
Our Beliefs • Oneness of Almighty Allah. • Creator of Mankind and all things.	All Students will be able to: • Recognize that Almighty Allah has created us. • Recognize that everything in the world is created by Almighty Allah. • Name the creation of Almighty Allah (human beings, animals, plants, trees, stars, sun, etc.) • Recite Kalimah Tayyibah in Arabic with the Urdu translation. • Recite Ta' awaz and Tasmiyyah with their translation.

Notice that this is appropriate only to Muslim children. As a result of this, the curriculum is compelling the 5-year old non-Muslim children to memorize by rote and recite the Kalima Tayyaba and Ta'awwuz and Tasmiyah with meaning.

Another topic set by the Curriculum for Grade I General Knowledge is on Prophets.[132]

Prophets	• Names of Prophets (Hazrat Ibrahim (A.S.),

[129] Discrimination against 'scheduled caste' Hindus continues in Pakistan, Low Caste Hindu Women and Kids Being Sexploited in Pakistan, *Struggle for Hindu Existence*, March 23, 2010, *https://hinduexistence.org/2010/03/25/discrimination-against-scheduled-caste-hindus-continues-in-pakistan-low-caste-hindu-women-kids-being-sexploited-in-pakistan/*

[130] Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas, Op.Cit. p.23, PDF File, *https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf.*

[131] "National Curriculum for General Knowledge: Grades I-III, 2007, Government of Pakistan", Ministry of Education, Islamabad, p 12. As referred by A. H. Nayyar, *A Missed Opportunity, Continuing Flaws in the New Curriculum and Textbooks After Reforms,* op.Cit. p.13, PDF File, *http://eacpe.org/content/uploads/2014/05/A-Missed-Opportunity.pdf.*

[132] Ibid.

Names of Prophets (Hazrat Ibrahim (A.S.), Hazrat Musa (A.S.), Hazrat ISA (A.S.), and Hazrat Muhammad (Sallallah-u-alaihi wa alihi wasallam)	Hazrat Musa (A.S.), Hazrat ISA (A.S.), and Hazrat Muhammad (Sallallah-u-alaihi wa alihi wasallam). • Recognize that Hazrat Muhammad (Sallallah-u-alaihi wa alihi wasallam) is the last prophet of the Almighty Allah. • Narrate the biography (i.e seerat) of the Hazrat Muhammad (Sallallah-u-alaihi wa alihi wasallam), including his birth, early upbringing, and character. • Recognize that they should recite Sallallah-u-alaihi wa alihi wasallam whenever they read, say, and hear the name of Hazrat Muhammad (Sallallah-u-alaihi wa alihi wasallam). • Recite with translation the short form of Darood.

Notice that the prophets are all of the Abrahamic religions. This lesson leave out non-Abrahamic religions like Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, etc., and would breach the constitutional right of children of non-Abrahamic religions; It compels children of non-Muslim faith to recite Darood and Salaam on the Holy Prophet (PBUH); It requires non-Muslim students to recite blessings on the Prophet, an obligation of a Muslim and not of a non-Muslim; Although the curriculum requires three other prophets to be stated, it requires the seerat (biography) of only one. This denotes that the non-Muslim students are compelled to learn the seerat of only the Prophet of Islam.[133]

Textbooks dealing with Urdu language and literature, Grades I to VIII

Along with Hamd[134] (traditional Islamic poetry showing the love of God) and Naat (traditional Islamic poetry showing the love of the Prophet of Islam), Urdu textbooks include the following lessons:

Grade	Textbook	Islamic Chapters
I	Urdu ki Kitab (Urdu Book), Class I, KPK Textbook Board, Peshawar	(a) Sab ka Malik (Everyone's Lord); (b) Hamare Pyare Nabi (SAWS) (Our Beloved Prophet)
	Urdu Ki Pehli Kitab (The First Book of Urdu), Balochistan Textbook Board	Aakhri Nabi (The Last Prophet)
	Urdu 1, Urdu Book Stall, Urdu	Hamare Pyare Nabi (Our Beloved Prophet)

[133] Ibid, p.14.

[134] "One can argue that these are an essential component of training in Urdu language because these two form distinct genres of Urdu literature, as do, Nazm, Ghazal, Marsia, Drama, etc. Hence, the fact that many non-Muslim writers in Urdu also wrote Hamd and Naat shows that these transcend faith insofar as literary value and teaching Urdu language is concerned. One can also dig out Urdu textbooks from the times of undivided India to show Urdu textbooks had always contained Hamd and Naat as essential components. In fact, one can also show that in the present day India these two are an essential part of Urdu textbooks. But times change and the normative practices at a given time can lose their acceptability at another time. In these times of a greater emphasis on rights of citizens, it can be argued that teaching Hamd and Naat to non-Muslim students amounts to forcing them to learn a religion which is not their own, and hence a violation of Article 22(1) of the Constitution."Ibid, p.24.

	Bazar, Lahore. The Government of Punjab approved it as the sole textbook for the year 2012-13, April 2012.	
II	Urdu ki Doosri Kitab (The Second Book of Urdu), for Class 2, New College Publications, Quetta, for Balochistan Textbook Board, Quetta, 2013.	(a) Pyare Nabi (SAWS) ki Bacchon se Mohabbat (Beloved Prophet's Love for Children) (b) Pehla Musalman Baccha (First Muslim Child)
	Urdu ki Kitab (Urdu Book), Ummi Socio-educational Service, Peshawar, approved by the KPK Government.	(a) Hamare Pyare Nabi (SAWS) ki Zindagi (Our Beloved Prophet's Life) (b) Hazrat Bibi Fatima (RA)
	Urdu 2, Al-Faisal Publishers, Lahore, approved as the sole textbook by the Government of Punjab for 2013-14.	(a) Hamare Pyare Nabi (SAWS) (Our Beloved Prophet) (b) Hazrat Umar Farooq (RA) (c) Eid-ul-Azha
	Urdu, Doosri Jamaat Ke Liye (Urdu for Second Grade), National Book Foundation, Islamabad, 2013.	a) Hamare Pyare Nabi (SAWS) (Our Beloved Prophet) (b) Hazrat Ibrahim (AS)
III	Urdu ki Kitab, Teesri Jammat Ke Liye (Urdu for Third Grade), Ummi Socio-educational Service, Peshawar, approved by the KPK Government.	(a) Hazrat Muhammad (SAWS) ke Ikhlaq (The Prophet Muhammad SAW's Morals) (b) Hazrat Umar Farooq (RA)
	Urdu-3, Choudhry Ghulam Rasool and Sons, Lahore, approved as the sole textbook by the Government of Punjab for 2013-14.	(a) Rahmat-e-Alam (SAWS) (Blessing for the Universe) (b) Hazrat Khadijat-ul-Kubra (RA) (c) Jashn-e-Milad-un-Nabi (SAWS)(Celebration of the birth of the Prophet) (d) Waade ki Pabandi (Keeping Promises)(e) Masjid ki Taazeem (Respect of Mosque)
	Urdu ki Kitab, Teesri Jamaat ke Liye (Urdu for Third Grade), National Book Foundation, Islamabad, 2012.	(a) Sab se Accha Kaun? (Who's the Best) (b) Hazrat Umar bin Abdul Aziz (RA) (c) Islami Sheaar (Islamic Symbols) (d) Aqwal-e-Zarreen (Inspirational Quotes)
IV	Meri Urdu ki Kitab (My Urdu Book), for class 4, KPK Textbook Board, Peshawar.	(a) Ikhlaq-e-Rasool (The Prophet's Morals), Ahed ki Pabandi (Keeping Promise) (b) Hazrat Ayesha Siddiqua (RA) (c) Sacchi Dosti (True Friendship) (d) Hazrat Fatima (RA) (e) Imam Abu Hanifa (RA)
	Urdu 4, New College Publications, Lahore, approved as the sole textbook by the Government of Punjab for 2013- 14	(a) Qaumi Parcham (National Flag) (b) Meethe Pani ka Kunwan (The Well of Sweet Water)
	Urdu for class 4, National	Hazrat Zainab (RA)

	Book Foundation, Islamabad	
V	Meeri Urdu ki Kitab (My Urdu Book), Class 5, KPK Textbook Board.	(a) Fateh-e-Makkah (SAWS) (b) Sachcha Khwab (The True Dream) (c) Hazrat Usman Ghani (RA) (d) Yateem Bachche Ki Eid (An Orphan's Eid) (e) Hikayat (Anecdote) (f) Paikar-e-Wafa(Figure of Faithfulness) (g) Imam Jaffar Sadiq (RA) (h) Niqab Posh Mujahid (Veiled Warrior)
	Urdu 5, Qalat Stationers, Lahore, approved as the sole textbook by the Government of Punjab for 2013-14.	(a) Yaar-e-Ghar (Cave's pal, Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddiq RA)(b) Hamare Rasm o Riwaj (Our Cultural Traditions)
VI	Urdu, for class 6, KPK Textbook Board, Peshawar.	(a) Ummul Momineen Hazrat Khadijatul-Kubra (RA) (b) Mehnat ki Azmat (The Greatness of Hard Work) (c) Adl o Masawat (Justice and Equality)
	Urdu for class 6, Choudhry Ghulam Rasool and Sons, Lahore, approved as the sole textbook by the Government of Punjab for 2013-14.	(a) Sehat –o- Safai (Cleanliness and Health) (b) Mehnat ki Barkaat (The Blessing of Hard Work) (c) Mehnat (Hard Work)(poem)
	Urdu for class 6, National Book Foundation, Islamabad, 2013.	(a) Rahm Dili ka Ajr (The Outcome of Kindness) (b) Mehnat ki Barkat (The Blessing of Hard Work)
VII	Urdu ki Kitab (Urdu Book), for class7, Leading Book Publishers, Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board, Peshawar.	(a) Ghazi Ilm Din Shaheed, an Indian carpenter who assassinated a book publisher named Mahashe Rajpal for publishing the book Rangila Rasul, which was perceived as derogatory towards the Prophet of Islam. Ilm-ud-din was convicted and executed in 1929.
	Urdu ki Kitab (Urdu Book), for class 7, National Book Foundation, Islamabad, 2013.	(a) Acche Ikhlaq (Good Manners) (b) Adaab-e-Maashrat (Ways to Socialize) (c) Yom-e-Azadi aur ham (Independence Day and Us)
	Urdu 7, Urdu Book Stall, Lahore, approved as the sole textbook by the Government of Punjab for 2013-14	Hai Zindagi ka Maqsad Auron ke Kaam Aana (Aim of Life is to Help others in Need)
VIII	Urdu for Class 8, KPK Textbook Board, Peshawar.	(a) Hazrat Salman Farsi ka ek Khat (Hazrat Salman Farsi's Letter) (b) Hazrat Zainab binte Ali (RA) (c) Waadah (Promise) (d) Hazrat Umar bin Abdul Aziz (RA) (e) Bete ki Qurbani (The Daughter's Sacrifice)(poem)
	Urdu for class 8, Choudhry Ghulam Rasool and Sons, Lahore, approved as the sole textbook by the Government	(a) Dard-e-Dil ke Waste Paida Kiya Insaan Ko (Human Beings were Given Life for Kindness) (b) Hazrat Umar bin Abdul Aziz (RA)

	of Punjab for 2013-14.	

It is obvious that all of the above chapters are a serious breach of the existing protection under Article 22(1) of the Constitution and the source of this infringement is NC2006.[135] The above data illustrate the unnecessary and overwhelming insertions of chapters in compulsory subjects focused on Islamic teachings. According to A.H. Nayyar, "on average over a quarter of the material in books to teach Urdu as a language was on Islam."[136] The heightened religiosity in compulsory subjects gave rise the heightened sectarianism in society. It disregards the religious affiliation of students to other religions, as it imposes Islamic traditional teachings on all students.

Religious Contents in English Textbooks—not required by the NC2006

The NC2006 sets the standards for composing English textbooks and recommends topics and subtopics to be included as well. Even though NC2006 does not require religious contents in English textbooks, the English textbooks contain lessons on Islamic rituals and sacred dignitaries. This compels non-Muslim students to study details that should otherwise have been a section of an Islamiat book. Even for Muslim students, the over-emphasis of religion in most subjects radicalizes minds since younger students are bound to see everything through a narrow Islamic perspective. In addition to disregarding other religions, the textbooks are limiting their worldview. The following titles and given instructions demonstrate the problem.

Grade III

English 3, published by Vcan Publishers, Lahore, approved by the Government of Punjab as the only textbook for all government schools in Punjab for 2013-14, February 2013. It starts with the Arabic inscription of Bismillah-i-Rahman-i-Rahim (in the name of God) and does not provide its translation. It also has one religious lesson 'Hazrat Ali RTA'.[137]

Grade IV

English Grade-IV, National Book Foundation, Islamabad, 2013.

Unit 2: **The Prophets.** Although NC2006 requires a theme of ethics and values, this book includes a theme of religion and values. It includes the leading prophets of the three Abrahamic religions and does not even come close to other religions. The Oral Communication section of the exercises after this lesson requires students to greet each other with Assalam-o-Alaikum. The students are additionally taught, incorrectly, that this greeting means "Allah bless you" when, in fact, it means 'peace be with you'.

Unit 3: **A Farmer and a Prince.** The theme to be encompassed is courage. Point 2 in Writing Skills is a paragraph on Eid-ul-Azha, covering only aspects pertinent to Muslims. On the following page, it presents pictures of some animals and birds and asks students to recognize animals that are slaughtered on the Eid.

Unit 8: **A Night of June.** The subject is nature. However, the Oral Communication section includes "Talking about Eid Milad-un-Nabi", with the following contents: • Why do we celebrate 12 Rabi-ul-Awal? On this day our Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) was born. • How do you celebrate it? We make

[135] A.H. Nayyar, A Missed Opportunity, Continuing Flaws in the New Curriculum and Textbooks After Reforms, Op.Cit. P.25-7

[136] Ibid, p.7.

[137] *https://pctb.punjab.gov.pk/system/files/English%203.pdf*

dishes, wear new clothes and decorate our homes. • Do you offer prayers and Durood-o-Salaam? Yes, we offer prayers and Durood-o-Salaam.

Grade V

1. English 5, Apple Educational Press, Lahore, approved by the Government of Punjab as the only textbook for all government schools in Punjab for 2013-14, March 2013. This book includes a lesson on Islamic learning 'The Holy Prophet's (PBUH) journey to Taif'.

2. Primary Stage English (Compulsory) for Class Five, Nadir Traders, Quetta, approved by Balochistan Textbook Board, Quetta, 2010.

It includes one lesson on Eid-ul-Azha, describing Hazrat Ibrahim's sacrifice. It also describes how the Quran should be handled.

Grade VI

1. English 6, Ch Ghulam Rasul & Sons, Lahore, approved by the Government of Punjab as sole textbook for all government schools in Punjab for 2013-14, March 2013. It has one religious lesson: The Fair Dealings of the Holy Prophet, Hazrat Muhammad (صلی اللہ علیہ وعلیٰ آلہ وسلم).

2. English grade 6, Leading Books, for KPK Textbook Board, Peshawar.Revised Edition 2017-18.

One religious lesson: Rahmatul-lil-Alameen (The Prophet of Mercy).

Grade VII

1. English 7, Sh. Ghulam Rasul & Sons, Lahore, approved by the Government of Punjab as sole textbook for all government schools in Punjab for 2013-14, March 2013.

The first two of its 14 lessons are religious lessons. Lesson 1 is 'The Last Sermon of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)', with recommended studying, "Ask students to visit a library and read books on the life of Hazrat Muhammad (صلی اللہ علیہ وعلیٰ آلہ وسلم). Also, share your knowledge about the Holy Prophet".

Lesson 2: Eid-ul-Azha.[138]

Grade VIII

1. Everyday English for Class VIII, Sh. Shaukat Ali & Sons, Karachi, for Sindh Textbook Board, Jamshoro, April 2013. The first three lessons in this book are on the Holy Prophet (PBUH). [139]

A Comparison between Pakistan's Ministry of Education Curriculum Wing's Designed 'Pakistan Studies' Compulsory for Class IX-X and 'The History & Culture of Pakistan' for O level

Here it is important to mention that 'The History & Culture of Pakistan' for O level is used by all elite English-medium schools as well as military schools and elite Islamic schools. Only about 25% of the student population attend these schools. Pakistan Studies' Compulsory for Class IX-X is studied in schools serving the majority of Pakistani children such as government schools and non-elite private schools for lower and middle social classes, which do not offer O-level exams.

[138] *https://pctb.punjab.gov.pk/system/files/English%207.pdf*

[139] A.H. Nayyar, A Missed Opportunity, Continuing Flaws in the New Curriculum and Textbooks After Reforms, Op.Cit. P.27-29.

Pakistan Studies for Class IX-X	**The History & Culture of Pakistan for O Level**
Published by Azam Sons Karachi, Prepared and developed by the Sindh Textbook Board and approved by the Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing), Islamabad, reviewed by National Review Committee for Textbooks. Chief Coordinator: Syed Zakir Ali Shah Chairman, Sindh Textbook Board, Author: Prof. Fida Hussain Khokhar, Co-Authors: Prof. Syed Qavi Ahmed, Prof. M.Rafiq Dhanani (Chapter no. 2,7,8), Supervised by: Qaimuddin Bilal, G. M. Buledi, Ali Muhammad Sahar, Layout and Design by: Akkas Graphic, Karachi, Published by: Azam Sons, Karachi, Printed At: Hameed Printing Press, Karachi. April 2016.	The History & Culture of Pakistan is written by Nigel Kelly, a British historian, updated for the Cambridge O level Pakistan Studies syllabus 2059/01 from 2015, published by Peak Publishing.
Chapters are listed as: • Ideological Basis of Pakistan • Making of Pakistan • Constitutional Development in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan • Land and Climate of Pakistan • Resources of Pakistan • Industrial Development in Pakistan • The Population of Pakistan • Culture of Pakistan, Education in Pakistan- A Welfare State At the end of each chapter, there is an Exercise, divided into two parts: part A contains questions related to the chapter; part B contains sentences with blanks, and students need to fill in the appropriate words.	This book is divided into three sections. Each section starts with a small introduction that gives some insights into the section and is then further divided into five to six chapters. • Each chapter begins with a question that will be addressed in the chapter. • At the end of each chapter, there are Exam-type questions and there is Exam Guidance at the end of each section, which provides guidance to answer the chapter questions. • The margins of the paragraphs in each chapter contain numerous 'Aid to Learning' questions, designed to assist comprehension and understanding. • The sections, in order of appearance, are as follow: • Cultural and Political Background to the Pakistan Movement. • The Emergence of Pakistan 1906-1947. • Nationhood 1947-1999. • An Index listing topics addressed in the book. • References, which increases reliability.
• The first chapter discusses the meaning, source, and significance of ideology and contents of ideology. It stresses commonality such as the common religion and common culture, despite the fact that Pakistan is a	• The first section starts with the success story of the religious thinkers in spreading Islam in the Subcontinent during the 18th and 19th centuries. Then it describes the causes and consequences of the decline of

heterogeneous country. This chapter principally is designed for Pakistani Muslim students, and completely disregards the Pakistani Hindus, Christians, and other minorities. • As most of the book is in black and white, and in particular, lacks pictures and colors, it is dull in appearance. • The paper quality is low. • Lots of religious contents like the definitions of the Quran and Sunnah that is not relevant to Pakistan Studies. • The chapters lack introduction. • The contents are filled with Islamic references. For example, the date of the independence is given according to the Islamic calendar and "Lailatul Qadr" is described with the emphasis on 'Allah's will in the creation of Pakistan', which disregards the constitutional right of non-Muslim Pakistanis and disregards their existence in the country. • It starts with the Arabic inscription of Bismillah-ir-Rahmanir Rahim, and it does not provide its translation. The topic 'Water Pollution' starts as "Water is a great blessing of Almighty Allah", page 65. • 'Islamic Perspective of a Welfare State' starts with the assertion that "Islam presented the concept of welfare state fourteen hundred years ago which was fully practiced during the period of Righteous Caliphs (Khilafat-e-Rashida 632-661 A.D.)", page. 158. • Maps are the only pictures, which are very low quality, poorly photocopied, and hard to read. • Mostly, the essays are long and monotonous, which may impede student concentration. • Questions mentioned at the end of chapters are very straightforward such as, describe the characteristics of culture. Why is language an important element of culture? • Under the heading of "Religious Events",	Mughals and the importance of the works of Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan to the development of the Pakistan Movement in the 19th century. It provides a history that shows why and how Pakistan originated. • To avoid confusion, it separates each thinker's belief and work clearly. • It has catchy titles like "Babur: The first Mughal Emperor", "Humanyan: A Troubled Reign", "Akbar: The Empire Extended". • Each heading is in different color codes to delineate the difference between the main and the subsidiary points. It also has a timeline with a colored background for the dates to help students remember the specific dates. • Colorful maps • Colorful charts to explain the fall of the Mughal Empire, reasons for the war of independence, different languages that are spoken in Pakistan, and so forth. • Small verses in the margins have explanations in different languages relevant to the considered languages of Pakistan. • Filled with many historical black and white and colored pictures. More importantly, there are real-life pictures to illustrate the situation described in the text. Hence, students will have more interest and better understanding. • Enjoyable stories are relevant to the chapter. • Presents a picture of today's Pakistan as it explains the relatively recent political conditions in detail.

it says, "Similarly there are certain traditions of birth and death. Birth of a child, *especially a male child is celebrated*. Gifts are presented to each other."(Page 135). This reinforces the incorrect notion that there is a religious injunction to neglect a female child's birth. • While explaining the status of men and women in Pakistan, even though it states "the right to education, right to property and right to business is given to women", a chapter stresses the importance of limitations of women "within the four walls", page134. Overall the chapter disregards working women in Pakistani society despite their abundant participation in the workforce. • The book mentions some of the "problems in education" in Pakistan, such as feudal attitudes, dropout rates, teacher absenteeism, high fees of private educational Institutions, shortage of physical facilities, non-availability of textbooks, and lack of living accommodation for technical and medical college students. It does not provide potential remedies or suggestions. Yet, it criticizes private schools' teachers: "Teachers in the private schools are less qualified and hence their standard is less than the teachers in the government schools." (Page 154). • It does not talk about the currently existing political conditions of Pakistan at all.	
• Both books lack the geographical history of the Indus River Valley Civilization, 3300-1300 BCE, also known as the Harappan Civilization. Mohenjo Dero, located west of the Indus River in the Larkana District. It was one of the most sophisticated cities of the period, with advanced engineering and urban planning. It is thought to have been built in the 26th century BCE; it became, not only the largest city of the Indus Valley Civilization but one of the world's earliest major urban centers.[140]	

[140] Indus River Valley Civilizations (article) Khan Academy, *https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/world-history/world-history-beginnings/ancient-india/a/the-indus-river-valley-civilizations*

The use of Nigel Kelly's book *The History and Culture of Pakistan* first published in 2004 was a distinct improvement over the books written by Pakistani authors, which had previously used for the O level exams in 9th and 10th grade in elite schools. However, problems were apparent in the Pakistan Studies for Class IX-X designed by the Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing). As K.K. Aziz reports, "In the years 1988-90, according to the report of the chief examiner in the paper of Pakistan Studies, a "considerable proportion" of the examinees had a "very unsound" understanding of Pakistani history and culture. Many candidates wrote about the nineteenth century when they were asked a question about the eighteenth. Some confused regional and national languages. The standard was generally low. The candidates failed to distinguish satisfactorily between "ideology" and "history". They "lacked factual knowledge" about the lives of Muhammad bin Qasim and Mahmud Ghuznawi. A few confused Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. On Chaudhri Rahmat Ali the answers were "on the whole unexpectedly weak" and many were very inaccurate"; this illustrates "the dangers of cramming too closely from the textbook." In all previous examinations, the candidates also showed ignorance about Bengal's role in the decision of 1947 and also about the factors leading to the creation of Bangladesh. The examiners were also "surprised that many candidates showed very inaccurate knowledge about the stages in the Quaid-i-Azam's life and political career." Many could not distinguish between the Lahore Resolution and the Objectives Resolution. In questions on education in Pakistan "very few were able to distinguish adequately between the 'quantity' and 'quality' of education". After making these specific points the chief examiner has some general comments: "Teacher should encourage their pupils to develop a sound and critical approach to the events preceding the foundation of Pakistan, and a factually accurate understanding of the evolution of the country between 1947 and the present day. Candidates for this, and earlier entries, often let themselves down on the 'historical' aspects of the syllabus by showing only a vague, and sometimes inaccurate, knowledge of the evolution of Islamic government and institutions in South Asia. On the 'cultural' side candidates seem too easily satisfied with repeating platitudes on matters of tradition and custom without showing any close knowledge of the specific national, regional or local context in which they are being discussed …….They should also be advised to avoid an overtly polemical tone in answering historical questions. Candidates do, of course, hold very committed views on some of the subjects included in this syllabus, but while the examiners welcome the reasoned exposition of all viewpoints, one of the main reasons for the rather poor performance of a large number of candidates reflects a failure to provide supporting evidence for some of the views expressed."[141]

It seems obvious that their recommendations were not taken seriously by the Pakistani officials as the Pakistan Studies book was not subsequently rewritten. That most probably led the Local Examinations Syndicate of the University of Cambridge to prescribe a book for Pakistan Studies that would be written NOT by Pakistani writers but by a British historian. As *The History and Culture of Pakistan's* back cover say, "It covers the history of Pakistan up to 1999 and provides students with the comprehensive and in-depth knowledge required for the examination. The author is an examiner for O Level Pakistan Studies Paper 1. He is an experienced writer of history textbooks for secondary classes, classes, GCSE and O

[141]Islamiyat, Pakistan Studies, School Certificate/GCE, Ordinary Level, Chief Examiner's Report on the November 1989 Examination, Local Examinations Syndicate, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, as referred by K.K. Aziz, The Murder of History, A Critique of history textbooks used in Pakistan, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2010), p. 288-90.

Level."[142] The reports of the chief examiner clearly reflect the ills of the Pakistan Studies' book crafted by the Curriculum Wing of the Ministry of Education. However, they had to resolve the 'problem' by themselves, which only benefited by the elites and army schools. The rest of Pakistani students are afflicted with the customary Pakistan Studies book and no one cares!

In addition, it seems that the traditional examination system in the government schools also significantly influences the curricular design, patterns of the textbooks, and ultimately what occurs in the classes. As the students are principally assessed via their written answers to longwinded essay-type questions in the standardized exams, the course books and exercises following each chapter are designed to enable this practice. The post-lesson questions do not require deliberation or present any intellectual challenge to the students or motivate their logical or reflective abilities. Successful responses mostly require replication of course book substance, occasionally without the least variation. The following questions, which have been selected from post-lesson exercises of different course books, reinforce these opinions:

- Write down the fourteen points of Quaid-e-Azam? (Pakistan Studies Class 9 & 10, p. 38)
- Explain the salient features of objective resolution? (Pakistan Studies Class 9 & 10, p. 55)
- Write a detailed note on the importance of Zakat? (Islamic Studies Class 9 & 10, p. 66)
- Explain the contributions of different Muslim scientists in the field of biology? (Biology Class 9, p. 20)
- Write a detailed account on Hazrat Ali with special reference to the great qualities he possessed? (English Class 10, p. 34)[143]

Moreover, the government school teachers have a tendency to incorporate "Quran knowledge" into the subject matter in addition to the praxis of seemingly secular and modern courses of even scientific subjects, for instance, biology, physics, and chemistry. In this manner, they contend that their initiative of "Islamizing" the discipline information resolves basic methodological issues in education and offers '*precise*', '*authentic*', and '*effectual*' concepts and ideas to reform present-day intellectual life of the Muslims. Furthermore, throughout the classwork, government school teachers identify the exaltations of medieval Muslim scientists and seek to propagate the notion that Muslim academic genius has in fact provided the basis for Western academic and scientific progress. Overall, the government school classwork mainly confines students' learning capability to internalizing all that the teachers reveal to them. [144] Madiha Afzal describes some insightful comments from a bureaucrat she interviewed in the following way: "Students are not required to study world history to place Pakistan's history in any sort of context. In 2013, I asked a senior official at the federal curriculum wing (whose prerogative is now limited to the capital Islamabad and universities) about the possibility of making world history a core subject. His response: "Why would our students need to study world history when they live in Pakistan?"[145]

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[142] Nigel Kelly, *The History and Culture of Pakistan,* (Cambridge: Peek Publications, 2011), back cover.

[143] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities", op.cit. p.115, PDF File, https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf

[144] Ibid, p.117.

[145] Madiha Afzal, *Pakistan Under Siege: Extremism, Society, and the State,* Brookings Institution Press, Washington D.C. 2018, P.87, *https://www-jstor-*

K.K. Aziz has mentioned an interview of Dr. Hasan Askari Rizwi, in which the reporter Aliya Inam asked why he had written prejudiced materials, "Dr. Hasan Askari Rizwi, author or co-author of textbooks for classes 6, 7, 9-10 and intermediate, responded with gruff frankness and naïve charm. He said that if he had not done it someone else would have. "I just thought I would do a better job than some rigid ideologue". He added that he worked according to a set of guidelines provided to him. "We were told what to stress and what to avoid. And even after that, my draft was edited by a federal committee which took out names of people and lines it didn't like" (Aliya Inam, "Telling It Like It Wasn't", *The Friday Times*, Lahore, 19-25 March 1992). Despite the interference with his work, Dr. Rizwi allowed the book to be published under his name. One of the readers of his apologia was revolted, called it spurious and dishonest, and made the telling point that "he who subjects innocent and impressionable children to such falsehood would not hesitate to cheat his God" (Barrister Baccha, from Peshawar, letter, *The Friday Times*, 9-15 April 1992)."[146]

Irrelevant Inclusion, a patchwork of Islamic beliefs and Quran verses in the national Curriculum Textbooks of Physics for Class IX-X and Biology for Class XII[147]

First, the textbook of physics starts with the Arabic inscription of Bismillah-ir-Rahmani-r-Rahim (without translation), which is completely pointless for studying a science subject. It is good for Muslims to start their work or study with the recitation of this verse but an academic book for science should be free from religious beliefs. After that, it explains physics under the heading of 'What is Physics?' It says, "Almighty Allah created this universe billions of years ago with a single word "be" and at once it came into being." On page 6, the heading is "Teachings of Islam and Science" under which it says, "In an authentic hadith Saheeh Bukhari Sharif the mode of the first revelation is narrated when the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.) was in the cave of Hira." Then the first revealed verses are inscribed and discussed in detail, further referencing more verses from the Qur'an and references from hadiths like "Quest knowledge from cradle to grave". Then the Abbasi period is reviewed under the heading of "Contribution of Muslim and Pakistani Scientists". It describes how the Khalifa was a lover of knowledge and that scientists and intellectuals from all over the world used to come to Baghdad. After discussing the Abbasi period, the chapter contains accounts of three Muslim scientists from 800 A.D and finally jumps directly to two Pakistani scientists, Abdus Salam, and Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan.[148] All these explanations of Quran verses, hadiths, and Islamic history have nothing to do with physics. This hodgepodge of Islam in physics confuses both Muslim and non-Muslim Pakistani students. Physics is a compulsory subject for all science students including non-Muslim Pakistani students. Here they are obliged to study the Pakistani Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing)'s designed "Islamic Physics", which elite Islamic schools, Grammar Schools, and military schools do not include in their curriculum.

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org.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/stable/pdf/10.7864/j.ctt1hfr16s.8.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A33e517bef3252e3e077d5fefb55357ec

[146] K.K. Aziz, The Murder of History, A Critique of history textbooks used in Pakistan, Op.Cit. p.286.

[147] *A Textbook of Physics For Classes IX-X, According to National Curriculum*, (Jamshoro Sindh: Sindh Textbook Board, 2017) Pub. Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Larkana, Mirpurkhas and Karachi. *A Textbook of Biology for class XII,* Sindh Textbook Board Jamshoro, (Karachi: Urdu Academy Sindh, 2016). Both books are completely black and white with lowest quality pages.

[148] A Textbook of Physics For Classes IX-X, According to National Curriculum, Op.Cit. p.1-10.

In Biology Textbook for grade XII, published by Sindh textbook board, Jamshoro 2016, on page 34, Quran's chapter 24, verse 45, on page 92, Quran's chapter 4 verse 1, on page 125, Quran's chapter 6, verse 96, on page 130, Quran's chapter 23, verses 12 to 15, and Quran's chapter 32, verses 7 to 9, on page 137, Quran's chapter 30, verses 54, and on page 222, Quran's chapter 24, verse 45 are mentioned.
The textbook of biology also starts with the same Arabic inscription of Bismillah-ir-Rahmani-r-Rahim (without translation), which is again unnecessary for studying biology. Then, on page 34, in a section entitled "Support and Locomotion in Animals" (which is related to the function of the skeleton and muscles in maintaining body shape and motion) the verse from the Qur'an is mentioned which is "And Allah has created every animal of water. Of them is (a kind) that goes upon its belly and (a kind) that goes upon two legs and (a kind) that goes upon four. Allah creates what He will. Lo! Allah is Able to do all things. (Sura Al-Nur 24, Ayah 45)".
On page 92 the paragraph states, "Through natural selection, over millions of years, a variety of ways evolved in which organisms reproduce their own kinds. There are, however, two main ways. Asexual reproduction requires only one parent. It gives rise to new individuals by mitotic division. As a result of which offspring are morphologically and genetically identical. It takes place by a number of ways i.e. by spores, budding, fission, vegetative propagation, apomixes etc. and the sexual reproduction which requires two parents give rise new individuals by fusion of specialized cells called gametes. As a result of which variable offspring are produced. It is also proved in the light of the Quran's verses.
"Lo! Allah (it is) "O mankind! Be careful of your duty to your Lord Who created you from a single soul and from it created its mate and from them, twain hath spread abroad a multitude of men and women. Be careful of your duty toward Allah in Whom ye claim (your rights) of one another, and toward the wombs (that bore you). Lo! Allah hath been a Watcher over you." (Sura Al-Nisa 4, Ayah 1)".[149] Here the verse is talking about the birth of man from Adam and Eve, while the paragraph is talking about the ways of reproduction i.e. asexual reproduction and the reproduction that requires two parents. Obviously, the subject in the paragraph does not connect with the subject of the verse stated here. Then again on page 125, the paragraph says, "In lower plants, the entire plant body may be capable of growth. In the higher plants, however, growth is confined to certain regions called the growing points. These regions are called meristems. They consist of a group of cells, which are capable of division and giving rise to new cells. These dividing cells are called meristematic cells……These are the cambium and phellogen of cork. The activity of these tissues results in the increase in diameter of stem and root and the secondary tissues of plants are formed. This increase in thickness due to the activity of lateral meristems is called secondary growth. The process of germination is also explained in the Quran's Verses.
Who splitteth the grain of corn and the date-stone (for sprouting). He bringeth forth the living from the dead and is the bringer-forth of the dead from the living. Such is Allah. How then are ye perverted?" (Sura Al-An'am 6, Ayah 96)"[150]
Then again on page 130 'Under the Heading of 'Growth and Development in Animals' it says, "The steps involved in the development are irreversible and they occur in an ordered sequence one after the other.

[149] *A Textbook of Biology for class XII,* Sindh Textbook Board Jamshoro, (Karachi: Urdu Academy Sindh, 2016), p.92.
[150] Ibid, p. 125.

The life cycle of an animal can be seized at any stage by an inevitable process, the process of development as described in the verse of the Holy Quran.

"Verily We created man from a product of the wet earth. Then placed him as a drop (of seed) in a safe lodging. Then fashioned We the drop of a clot, then fashioned We the clot a little lump, then fashioned We the little lump bones, then clothed the bones with flesh, and then produced it as another creation. So blessed be Allah, the Best of Creators! Then lo! after that ye surely die." (Sura Al-Mo'minoon 23, Ayah 12-15)

"Who made all things good which He created, and He began the creation of man from clay. Then He made his seed from a drought of despised fluid. Then He fashioned him and breathed into him of His spirit, and appointed for you hearing and sight and hearts. Small thanks give ye!" (Sura Al-Sajda 32, Ayah 7-9)". As clear from the heading and the paragraph, the subject is the growth and development of *animal* not *man*. And the verses' subject is a man not animal.

Later in the textbook, on page 137 under the heading of 'Aging', a paragraph says, "In humans, people usually determine each other's ages by identifying signs of aging such as loss of hair pigmentation, skin wrinkles particularly on face, development of small pigmented areas in the skin particularly on the face, general weakness, increase fat disposition, poor vision, gradual loss of memory, increased susceptibility to diseases, development of degenerative diseases such as osteoporosis, arthritis, etc. The Holy Quran also explains this process in his own words:

"Allah is He Who shaped you out of weakness, then appointed after weakness strength, then, after strength, appointed weakness and grey hair. He createth what He will. He is the Knower, the Mighty." (Sura Al-Room 30, Ayah 54)"

Although the verse is related to aging; however, it is inappropriate in this context. Because, even though it is true that the Quran talks about the aging of man—likewise other religions' books (apart from Islam) also have subjects related to mankind and the universe— this has nothing to do with the study of biology. Biology is the natural science that involves the study of life and living organisms, including their physical structure, chemical composition, function, development, and evolution. On the other hand, religion deals with the set of beliefs, rituals, and ways people manage lives and their fate after death. Therefore, it is unfruitful to combine two different domains in one subject of a course book. However, if someone wants to prove his/her religious beliefs through scientific discoveries, s/he should work in another subject domain, which could be something like 'Similarities between Religion and Science'. Moreover, textbooks should be clean from confusion and error and should strive to promote critical thinking, because growing minds need to learn about the world around them. Likewise, Dr.Khalid Masud also argues that by "insisting on the comprehensiveness of Islam, the Ulama caused intellectual frustration."[151]

Moreover, according to Article 22(1) of the Constitution, as mentioned above, any person attending any educational institution shall not be obligated to receive religious instructions related to a religion other than his/her own.[152]But the *recommendations of the Ministry of Education's Curriculum Wing* include a statement in the curricula of all the grades, under the title of stories, "… should also include two stories,

[151] Muhammad Khalid Masud, *Islam and Modernity, Key Issues and Debates,* Edited by Muhammad Khalid Masud, Armando Salvatore and Martin van Bruinessen, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p.256.

[152] A. H. Nayyar, A Missed Opportunity, Continuing Flaws in the New Curriculum and Textbooks After Reforms, op.cit. p.12.

one with an Islamic touch, be it in relation to a personality or an event, and the other should be about an eminent Pakistani personality or a shaheed."[153] Hence, it is violating the constitution and as a result, it discriminates against the non-Muslim minorities.

Subjects like Urdu and Pakistan Studies have elements of "*superior purity of Pakistani Muslims*" that may contribute to radicalizing innocent minds. "Dominant religious values, cultural values, and national aspirations are an integral part of the textbooks. For example, a review of compulsory Urdu language textbooks for all students up to Grade 10, published by the Punjab Textbook Board, found that 96 chapters and poems out of 362 had a strong Islamic orientation, without any mention of Pakistan's religious minorities or their beliefs. An examination of the first-grade textbook used for the integrated curriculum, titled "Meri Kitab" or "My Book," which is required for the majority of public school students, revealed that seven of the 16 total chapters contained Islamic sermons. In the accompanying instructions, teachers are told to underscore its Islamic content."[154] According to Tamara Sonn, Pakistan systematically demonized India and emphasized the superiority of Islam over other religions by the notion of the "Exclusivity" of Islam over Hinduism. These ideas were incorporated into a new "national curriculum" that contained religious prejudice and a biased view of history. As Yasmin Khan mentioned, "Often, the political imperative was to believe the worst about the other, a tendency still apparent in the contemporary national press of both countries that it was the other side that was *really* the chief aggressor and the other side that was *really* responsible for the horrors of 1947."[155]

"The description of events is relentlessly one-sided. In the latest Punjab textbooks (post-reform), the word "conspiracy" is used frequently, especially in reference to Hindus pre-1947 and India post-1947. India is described as "cunning," considered to put obstacles in Pakistan's path, whether through the dispute over water between the two countries or in the division of assets at Partition and especially through India's role in 1971, in the separation of East Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh. The "negative role of Hindu teachers" in East Pakistan is highlighted."[156]

Rubina Saigol, who has studied education, nationalism, and militarization in Pakistan wrote in 1995 in her Ph.D. dissertation *Knowledge and the production of identity: Educational discourse in Pakistan*: "When Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took over the government in 1971, the Pakistan army was demoralized due to having surrendered to India in East Pakistan. The public image of the army was very low and people's faith in the army's capacity to defend the country had been shaken. The Bhutto era curriculum is filled with war heroes, military values and the glorification of the army and its valiant exploits in the 1948 and 1965 wars with India."[157] The Pakistani soldiers being "*strong*", "*brave*" and "*filled with the spirit of jihad*" therefore, Pakistan Army is depicted as "one of the best armies in the world". Moreover, the

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[153] Ibid, p.24. *http://eacpe.org/about-a-h-nayyar/*

[154] Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), *Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious* Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas, US Commission on International Religious Freedom, Op.Cit. p.15, PDF File, *https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf*

[155] Moon, Divide and Quit, p.120, as referred by Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition*, The Making of India and Pakistan, Yale University Press, 2017, P.141.

[156] Madiha Afzal, Education and Attitudes in Pakistan, Understanding Perceptions of Terrorism, Special Rport, United States Institute of Peace, Wahington D.C., 2015, *https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/190171/SR367-Education-and-Attitudes-in-Pakistan.pdf*

[157] Rubina Saigol, Knowledge and the production of identity: Educational discourse in Pakistan, Op.Cit. Pp.572, *https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/docview/304222148?pq-origsite=primo*

Indians/Hindus are illustrated as the opposite of the Pakistani soldiers who are portrayed as the most humane with women, children, and prisoners of war, consistent with international principles. She further writes, "All of this seems to be an attempt to redeem the damaged reputation of the Pakistani army because, around that time, the atrocities it had committed in East Pakistan in 1971 were becoming known worldwide. This 'highly principled' army had reportedly raped 200,000 Bengali women and killed thousands of Bengali civilians."[158]

It programmed future generations with instinctual enmity towards India, based on both religious prejudice and limited one-sided exposure to their own history. Accordingly, the government began serving conservatives' demands for the purification of Pakistani society even at the price of Pakistan's founding inclusive and democratic principles.[159] Pakistan Studies and Social Studies textbooks are loaded with negative judgments about India and Great Britain, but Hindus are frequently picked out for specific criticism in texts and in interview answers, along with Ahmadis,[160] who regard themselves as Muslims but are not respected by the Pakistani Laws. Although "Ahmadis played a key role in the founding of the country, and an Ahmadi received one of the only two Nobel Prizes that Pakistan has ever been awarded. But the state declared them as heretics, and over the years, militants have attacked their mosques and killed them on the streets."[161] Moreover, a balanced study of history would indicate that Hindus and Muslims experienced centuries of harmonious co-existence, Hindus in current textbooks are frequently labeled as extremists and everlasting foes of Islam. Hindu culture and society are depicted as biased, impure, and unkind, whereas Islam is represented as impartial, pure, and peaceful. As stated by the National Commission for Justice and Peace (NCJP) report: "Government issued textbooks teach students that Hindus are backward and superstitious, and given a chance, they would assert their power over the weak, especially, Muslims, depriving them of education by pouring molten lead in their ears…"[162] Likewise, Dr. Syed Jaffar Ahmed stated, "Once confined in an ideological straitjacket of a state, history loses its rationale and creativity; it freezes the mindset of the people rather than liberates them."[163] According to A. H. Nayyar, the major serious problems with the National Curriculum 2006 are: it forces an "ideological straitjacket" on the idea of Pakistan and it has religious teaching contents included in

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[158] "This was disclosed at a tribunal on violence against women organised by the Simorgh Collective, December 30-31, 1993 in Lahore, Pakistan." As referred by Ibid, Pp.575-6, p.615, *https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/docview/304222148?pq-origsite=primo*

[159] Tamara Sonn, *Islam and Democracy After the Arab Spring*, John L. Esposito, Tamara Sonn, John O. Voll, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.89-90.

[160] "The Ahmadiyyas are another non-Sunni sect that has borne the brunt of militant attacks. Ahmadiyyas are considered heretical because of their belief among other anomalies – that their leader, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (d.1908), was the awaited Messiah. A vigorous campaign against them featuring the slogan Khutum-e Nabawat (Prophet-hood is Complete), led to a 1984 Pakistani law declaring them non-Muslim. Ahmadiyyas can be jailed for three years for posing as a Muslim, or outraging Muslim feelings." Sam Robinson, *Rousing Religion, Islamic Preaching on the Pakistan-Afghan Border*, (Cumbria: Peldon Press, 2017), p.63.

[161] Diaa Hadid, 7 Decades After its Creation, The Idea of Who Belongs in Pakistan Narrows, *https://www.npr.org/templates/transcript/transcript.php?storyId=543338967*

[162] National Commission for Justice and Peace (NCJP) report 2008 as referred by Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), *Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas,* Op.Cit. p.15, PDF File, *https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf*

[163] Dr. Syed Jaffar Ahmed, Forward, *Pakistan in Search of Identity*, by Dr. Mubarak Ali, (Delhi: Aakar Books, 2011), p.11, *http://www.drmubarakali.org/assets/pakistan-in-search-of-identity.pdf*

courses that are to be learned by students of all faiths, which violates the Constitution of Pakistan.[164] "It demands a narration of ideological basis of the country and the history woven around it, which leads to several serious problems like distortion of history, creation of irrational hate and blinding prejudice against non-Muslim groups, and takes away from students any capacity to rationally analyze and understand historical events, seek and face realities, and determine their relation with other nations in an unprejudiced manner; it adds contents to the learning material that is contrary to facts."[165]

The treatment of social studies in textbooks has been considered by Hajra Ahmed: "General Observations on Social Studies textbooks for Classes 6, 7 and 8, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002 are: Strong religious and national prejudices, Historical omissions, Polemical – lacking facts and examples, No reasoned analysis, Lack of breadth – narrow focus on Pakistan and the Muslim world only and Pedagogical problems."[166]

The textbooks incite the sentiments of the students and reading similar contents at various classes promotes extremism and fanaticism in the innocent minds of the students. For instance, "History 6, Jan.2013, Published by Kitabistan Publishing Company 38- Urdu Bazar, Lahore Chapter No.3 Muslims in South Asia Practical Activities *Students present in the class, the conversation between Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi and worshippers of Somnath".*[167] "Reference: Textbook of HISTORY GRADE 6, New Developed Edition 2015, Second Print 2015, Code STE-496, Publisher: National Book Foundation as Federal Textbook Board Islamabad, Chapter No.3, Muslims in South Asia-I, page 45, lines 18-23

"The capture of Somnath is considered to be the crowning glory of his South Asian campaigns. The Shiva temple of Somnath in Gujrat Kathiawar was very famous throughout the country. In 1026 A.D, the Sultan rushed through Ajmer and suddenly appeared before the gates of Somnath. All neighboring Rajput rulers gathered their forces to protect the temple but they were defeated. The sultan entered the temple and with one blow shattered the idol into pieces. Sultan Mahmud died in 1030. A.D.

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[164] A. H. Nayyar, A Missed Opportunity, Continuing Flaws in the New Curriculum and Textbooks After Reforms, op.cit. p.54.

[165] Ibid, p.*10.*

[166] Hajra Ahmed, Teaching of Social Studies: Class 6 to 10, *The Subtle Subversion*, *The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan*, *Urdu, English, Social Studies and Civics,* Ed. A. H. Nayyar and Ahmad Salim, Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Op.Cit. p. 123.

[167]Anjum James Paul, "Biased Pakistani Text Books", October, 2014, Pakistan Minorities Teachers' Association, p.45, PDF File, *http://www.itacec.org/document/learning_resources/2014/BIASED%20%20PAKISTANI%20TEXTBOOKS.pdf.* Accessed Sept 13, 2017.

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Reference: Textbook of History Grade 6, New Developed Edition 2015, Code STE-496, Publisher: National Book Foundation as Federal Textbook Board Islamabad, Chapter No.3, Muslims in South Asia-I, page 47."[169]

"Normalizing" Muslim-Christian Violence for Students	
Everyday English 7 for Grade VII, First Edition Jan. 2014, Sindh Textbook Board, Jamshoro	Unit 8 Lesson 3, Tariq Bin Ziad
P.56, Review: You play the role of Tariq Bin Ziad as a general. Your friends in a group will act as Muslim soldiers. One of them will play the role of Christian King Roderick. Present your play to the class. You can bring suitable dresses and artificial equipment for the drama.	
"Normalizing" Muslim-Hindu Violence for Students	
History 6 for Grade VI, First Edition Jan. 2013, Kitabistan Publishing Company, Urdu Bazar, Lahore	Chapter No.3 Muslims in South Asia
P.44, Practical Activities: Students present in the class, the conversation between Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi and worshippers of Somnath.	

[170]

Class 6 Urdu by NBF has a lesson on Mathematics that contains several factual errors, e.g., "Musa Al Khwarizmi's Al Jabr wal Muqabla is still taught in several universities of the world"; or that "zero was first used by Muslims". • Class 7 Urdu of KPK eulogizes Ghazi Ilm Din Shaheed[171], encouraging vigilante killing of blasphemers • Class 7 Urdu of NBF: Two interesting things: (i) The poem Sharif Bibian (respectable women) has a picture of hijabi women; (ii) A remarkable statement: The world is witness to the fact that so far no society in the world has been able to match the society of Madina.[172]

[168] Professor Anjum Paul writes to CJ of SCP to address humiliation of religious minorities, Pakistan Chistian Post, *http://www.pakistanchristianpost.com/head-line-news-details/6230?hnewsid=6230*

[169] Anjum James Paul, Pakistani Textbooks, A Threat to the Lives and Beliefs of Non-Muslims, p.14. *https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_lyJDdCZwysZ0FTa1BDcUlLN2M/view,* Accessed Sept 13, 2017. *http://www.pakistanchristianpost.com/head-line-news-details/6230?hnewsid=6230*

[170] Ibid, p.44-5.

[171] Ghazi Ilm Din (1908 –1929) in 1929 murdered a book publisher named Mahashe Rajpal for publishing the book Rangila Rasul, (colorful prophet) which contained derogatory remarks about the Prophet of Islam.

[172] A. H. Nayyar, A Missed Opportunity, Continuing Flaws in the New Curriculum and Textbooks After Reforms, op.cit. p.52.

Furthermore, as stated above, the continuing reiteration of proud Islamic historical stories in subjects other than Islamiyat (Islamic Knowledge) and Pakistan Studies reduces the quality of education, as it takes the space and time for pertinent knowledge. Those subjects should be presented in a useful manner without religious interference.[173]

Sociological and Psychological Rationalization of Radicalization

The post-colonial, newly emerged states urgently required their populations to develop a sense of collective identity. However, a colonial legacy left its imprint in that the "well-trained" bureaucrats and military remained. The continuation of an existential threat from India meant that the military was able to take the lion's share of the budget and exert control over the country. "Their dominance relies on the social consensus that the country must be protected, not only from foreign threats but from its morally corrupt populist civilians."[174] These tensions were intensely felt in the educational discourse, curricula, theories, and institutional practices. Military ruler Ayub Khan, a proponent of such reform, once commented: "when nationalism, in its extreme form, takes charge, human reasoning gets the second place". The Afghan Jihad strengthened the supremacy of the Pakistani military as well as their ideology of themselves as an exclusionary Sunni country fighting against their image of Iran as a Shia.[175] Gen. Zia sought a coalition with the clergy to extend his authoritarian and unconstitutional rule after witnessing the clout of religious right-wing parties during the 4-year democratic rule of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. In Islamizing Pakistan, Gen. Zia deliberately reoriented the religious-political landscape in support of Deobandis, a minority sect that assumed top-heavy political and social authority in Pakistan from the 1980s onwards. What followed was an unimpeded rise of Deobandi militant outfits, sectarian killings, and growth of the pro-Taliban, socio-political base. Barelvis, who form a majority in the country, watched silently while Deobandis fortified their hold on power, thanks to the munificent financial and political backing by the House of Saud and Pakistan's security establishment. Deobandism and Wahabism differed in some ways theologically from each other but the Saudi funding helped to bridge these gaps and to align both sects on the same page as far as internal Islamist and revivalist agenda. Furthermore, Iran sent money to Shia Madrasas, its proxy sect, where Shia militants were groomed to fight Sunnis. Shias, with the help of Iran, strove to counteract the rise of Saudi-sponsored Deobandism in Pakistan but to no avail. Consequently, the Shias continue to be targeted randomly by Deobandi militant outfits.[176] This led, in the 1980s to the religious seminaries becoming a source of militancy. By using "education", they were supplying a new generation of militants for the proxy wars of the US and the USSR. Their students were now trained in the name of jihad, which is considered to be one of the most

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[173] "Rather than emphasizing on myth and miracles the Prophet's life illustrates and guides us towards the logical and rational understanding. The Prophet disapproved of the accustomed method of growing dates and asked one of his followers to relinquish it, only to realize later that he was mistaken in his suggestion, observing that since he was a man, and therefore fallible, his instructions having to do with everything except religious matters were to be only lightly regarded." Nasim Ahmad Javed, "Religion And Modernity: Some Nineteenth-And Twentieth-Century Indo-Pakistani Ideas", *The Muslim World*, Vol. LXI, No.2, April,1971, p.78.

[174] Alia S. Zia, Elite Consensus, *Dawn*, August 27, 2017, https://www.dawn.com/news/1354225

[175] Syed Manzar Abbas Zaidi, "The Process of Radicalization Contextualizing the Case of Pakistan", *Pak Institute for Peace Studies, Conflict and Peace Studies,* Op.Cit. P.4-5, PDF File, file:///C:/Users/Scholars%20Room/Pictures/130.pdf.

[176] Khuram Iqbal, *The Making of Pakistani Human Bombs* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015), p. 42.

virtuous deeds in Islam but here they disregard the fact that they are being used by the USA for its supremacy. Furthermore, state policies deepened the schism and further augmented the radicalization of society; this jihad begat the uncontrollable problem of Madrasas, funded by the incoming flow of the petrodollars and cultivating today's sectarian riots and targeted killings. It seems spot-on, in the case of Pakistan, when Ismail Faruqi regretfully comments that instead of being a blessing, oil wealth has proven to be a curse[177]. The intense sectarian chauvinism in Salafi/Wahhabi and Deobandi has increasingly infiltrated public consciousness, which resulted in sectarian violence and unstable conditions in Pakistani society. "Huge funding from the United States and the oil-rich Arab countries changed the whole scenario in Pakistan and phenomenally increased the number of religious parties. In the 1970s, there were only 30 religious parties. In the 1980s their number rose to 237. All these religious parties and groups benefited from foreign funding as well as received a tangible amount from Zakat collected by the state."[178]

Even though it contradicts classical Islamic traditions to treat one sect prejudicially or preferentially, the Pakistani government has outlawed Ahmadis—a heretical group founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad[179] in the early years of this century—as non-Muslims. "According to classical legal reasoning, no one jurist, institution, or juristic tradition may have an exclusive claim over the divine truth, and hence, the state does not have the authority to recognize the orthodoxy of one school of thought to the exclusion of all others."[180] Therefore, a crucially important question is the following: if the state does not have the authority to favor one sect, then *how could it regard one sect as non-Muslims?* "By incorporating extensive Islamic provisions in the 1973 constitution, and later in 1974 declaring the Ahmadis —as non-Muslims, Bhutto helped raised the religious parties' expectations and prepared the ground for a full grown movement for Islamization during Zia's regime."[181]

When the Prophet was alive and the revelations were being revealed, the claim of a Prophet Hood was self-evidently false and was regarded as a challenge to the position of the Prophet as the head of the state. After more than fourteen hundred years, with the presence of the hadiths'(sayings of the Prophet), assertions of the coming of Jesus and Mehdi, the claim of prophecy should not be treated as it

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[177] Isma'il Raji al Faruqi, "The Islamic Critique of the Status Quo of Muslim Society", *The Islamic Impulse*, Ed. Barbara Freyer Stowasser, New Edition, (Washington, DC: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 1987), p.237.

[178] Muhammad Aamir Rana, *Jihad-i-Kashmir War Afghanistan* (Lahore: 2002), p. 49. As referred by Dr. Mubarak Ali, *Pakistan in Search of Identity*, Op.Cit. p.125, PDF File, http://www.drmubarakali.org/assets/pakistan-in-search-of-identity.pdf.

[179] "Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1830-1908) launched the Ahmadiyya movement in 1889 in Qadiyan, India. Initially, his mission was to defend Islam against Christian and Hindu missionaries. Subsequently he also called for reforms within Islam itself. He claimed to be the Mahdi who, it was believed, would end war in the world. He therefore declared that Jihad had come to an end and that henceforth the faith should be spread by preaching and persuasion. He established Ahmadiyya Mission, which began to operate transnationally, especially in the African continent. The Mirza offered a liberal interpretation of Islam in certain areas but overall he remained conservative. The point where he came into conflict with Ulama, and on account of which his mission was later declared non-Muslim in Pakistan in 1974, was his claim to prophesy. He believed that prophecy was continuous and that he was prophet within Islam." Muhammad Khalid Masud, *Travelers in Faith,* (Boston: Brill NV, Leiden, 2000), p. vii.

[180] Jalal al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Bkr al-Suyuti, *Ikhtilaf* al-*Madhahib*, ed. 'Abd al-Qayyum Muhammad Shafi al-Bastawi (Cairo:Dar al-l'tisam, 1404 A.H), 22-23; Dutton, *The Origins of Islamic Law*, 29; Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 86. As Referred by Khaled Abou El Fadl, "The Shari'ah", in *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*, Ed. John L. Esposito and Emad El-Din Shahin, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.12.

[181] Mumtaz Ahmad, "Pakistan", *The Politics of Islamic Revivalism: Diversity and Unity*, Ed. Shireen T. Hunter, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), p.230.

was considered in the lifetime of the Prophet. With the recognized indication of the arrival of a prophet and a spiritual leader in both Sunni and Shia Islam, Ahmadis should not be blocked from consideration as Muslims in Pakistan. Nevertheless, they have been marginalized by restraints on acquiring basic government services. "The government made things more complicated by requiring all applicants for passports and mandatory national identity cards to sign a declaration if they wanted to be identified as Muslims. The declaration states, "I do not recognize any person who claims to be a prophet in any sense of the word or of any description whatsoever after Muhammad (peace be upon him) or recognize such a claimant as prophet or a religious reformer as a Muslim."[182] This declaration is not only against the widespread belief of the coming of Jesus and Mehdi, but also counters to the famous hadith, "Narrated by Abu Hurayrah: The Prophet (ﷺ) said: Allah will raise for this community at the end of every hundred years the one who will renovate its religion for it."[183] This hadith validates the coming of the reformers. Sunni Islam has many reformers called mujaddid, meaning one who brings "renewal" (تجديد tajdid) to the religion. There are many mujaddids in history, like the famous mujaddid alif sani meaning the "reviver of the second millennium" Shaykh Ahmad al-Fārūqī al-Sirhindī (1564–1624). Besides, there are many men who claimed prophethood or presented themselves as Mehdis, like Riyaz Ahmad Gohar Shahi[184] (born in 1941) in Pakistan. However, his followers are not being targeted.

The Islamization of society led to further radicalization, which has been considered by Dr. Mumtaz Ahmad as "Shari'azation" because the emphasis is on the enforcement of Sharia Laws, instead of the cardinal Islamic values of democracy, freedom, equality, social justice and respect of others' beliefs.[185] "Although most of these "revivalist" measures were introduced during the military regime of President Zia-ul-Haq, they are rooted in the periods of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's rule.

Indeed, it was Bhutto who first unleashed the revivalist forces while bargaining with his opponents in the religious right. Although the Islamic measures introduced by Bhutto were piecemeal and peripheral to the core of his socio-economic policies, they had great impact on subsequent developments."[186] Maududi built the mindset of laymen through his rightwing sociopolitical standpoint. For example, his stance on Ahmadis is now part of Pakistani mainstream thinking. That further succeeded in Zia-ul-Haq's alleged *Nizam-i-Mustafa* (system of governance attributed to the Prophet of Islam), which, in truth, violated human rights, denied social justice, and now has become an issue for international security. The militant ideology of violence, fanaticism, and intolerance is the result of the superficial approach of the laws of Sharia that is embedded in Zia's alleged *"Nizam-e-Mustafa".*

Bhutto's act of excluding Ahmadis resulted in far-reaching intolerance in the society as Zia strengthened his ultra-orthodoxies. However, it is interesting to note that the transformation of society was continued after Zia. Exclusive sectarianism is enveloping Pakistani society and has mostly transformed its once liberal and multi-ethnic concepts. Pakistani society was tolerant in many ways, as in Muharram (the sacred month of Mourning), when both the Shia and Sunnis used to participate in the processions. There were Sunnis, mostly Barailvis, who used to have free sweet drinks and water stalls for Shias, who beat

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[182] Farhanaz Isphahani, *Purifying the Land of Pure*, *Pakistan's Religious Minorities*, (India: HarperCollins Publishers, 2015) p.104.

[183]Imam Abu Dawud Sulayman ibn al-Ash'ath as-Sijistani, *Sunan Abi Dawud*, 4291, bk. 39, Hadith 1,English translation: bk. 38, Hadith 4278, *http://sunnah.com/abudawud/39/1*

[184] Istuqbaal-e-Gohar Shahi - Mochi Gate, Lahore
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m3Vj04-Qdyc
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uEDzS32pYdQ

[185] Mumtaz Ahmad, "Pakistan", *The Politics of Islamic Revival*, Ed. Shireen T. Hunter, Op.Cit. p.237.

[186] Ibid, p.230.

themselves in a ritualistic practice. “Once the Ahmadis were officially declared non-Muslim in 1974, a new campaign started with the intent to subject the Shias to similar exclusions. That the protestors resorted to violence against a minority religious sect pointed to the likelihood that such campaigns might become the norm—a fear that has been realized in the form of sectarian terrorism. With the anti-Ahmadiyya protests, Pakistan had moved from purging non-Muslims to an extended period of bitter fighting over who may be deemed Muslim, which has lasted to the present day.”[187]

The entrenchment of sectarian hatred is the fruit of conservatives’ influence on Pakistani society, which further resulted in the restriction of thought. In addition, subsequently, the development of a prejudiced syllabus in schools has resulted in a prejudiced Pakistani society, which is providing fertile ground for conservative forms of Islam. With its rigid stance on music, qawwali, and Sufi traditions, Pakistan is becoming socially narrower day by day. Targeted killing is scarcely news anymore in Pakistan.[188] More disturbingly, those who are committing this heinous act of killing consider that they are accomplishing a *good deed!* Shias, Ahmadis, Sufi singers, civil society activists, and moderate scholars are easy targets. By comparison, the Deobandis /Ahl-e-Hadiths, are relatively safe because of their influential positions in society. Prof. Shakil Auj was assassinated while being driven to an event arranged by the Iranian Cultural Center in Karachi in honor of a "medal of distinction" announced by the government of Pakistan to be awarded to him on "Pakistan Day" on March 23rd, 2015 for his scholarly work. "Thus any perception of cultural patronage from Iran would have been unwelcome to Sunni militants."[189] “In the *Education under Attack, 2014* report by the Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack (of which the Scholars at Risk Network is a member), Pakistan is cited as one of the six most “heavily affected” countries for violence against schools and universities. Hundreds of attacks were documented between 2009 and 2012.”[190]

The rising hatred for Ahmadis, Shias, Hindus, and Christians is a serious problem[191]; the enmity-provoking materials in the compulsory national curriculum may significantly contribute to conditioning

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[187] Farhanaz Ispahani, *Purifying the land of Pure*, op.cit. p.53

[188] Imtiaz Ali, “Famed qawwal Amjad Sabri gunned down in Karachi”, *Dawn*, June 22, 2016, http://www.dawn.com/news/1266514 “Sabri, a notable Sufi singer known for his devotional music called Qawwali…A spokesman for the TTP, the Pakistani branch of the Taliban militant group, claimed responsibility for the 45-year-old singer’s murder Sufism — a brand of Islam that’s steeped in mysticism — has millions of followers in Pakistan. But the Taliban have been known to target those with links to Sufism.” Rishi Iyengar, “Pakistan Mourns Sufi Singer Amjad Sabri After He Was Shot Dead in Karachi”, *Time*, June 23, 2016, http://time.com/4379348/pakistan-amjad-sabri-sufi-singer-dead-shot-taliban/

[189] Qasim Zaman, *Islam in Pakistan A History*, Princeton University Press, 2018, P.90.

[190] Matthew Reisz, “Murder and ‘blasphemy’: Pakistan’s academy in danger, Scholars at Risk Network warns of threats to academic freedom after the killing of a lawyer defending a scholar”, *Times Higher Education*, May 22, 2014, https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/murder-and-blasphemy-pakistans-academy-in-danger/2013405.article

[191] The famous Blasphemy case of Aisia Bib is an example. “The acquittal of the 53-year-old Catholic farmworker by Pakistan’s supreme court last month prompted demonstrations by hardline Islamist parties in Pakistan who had campaigned for her to be hanged. She remains in protective custody in an undisclosed location in Pakistan after the prime minister, Imran Khan, agreed to allow a petition against the court’s decision as part of a deal to halt the protests. Her husband, Ashiq Masih, has appealed for help to Britain, Canada, Italy and the US but the UK high commissioner in Islamabad is reported to have warned he could not protect his staff if asylum was granted by the UK.” Patrick Wintour, Foreign Office 'allowed Pakistan mob to dictate Asia Bibi asylum case', *The Guardian*, November 13, 2018.

Ahmadis, Hindus and Christians remained at serious risk of violence and intimidation on the basis of their religious beliefs. There were at least 79 attacks on Shi'a Muslims – the most for any religious group in the country. Religious minorities were disproportionately represented in incidents in which private individuals sought to invoke Pakistan's vaguely formulated blasphemy laws. The northern region of Gilgit-Baltistan experienced unprecedented sectarian violence, with the authorities largely failing to bring the perpetrators of over 70 killings to justice after clashes between Sunni and Shi'a Muslims in April 2013. The authorities allowed religious groups to prevent Ahmadis from entering places of worship. The graves of over 100 Ahmadis were vandalized in a Lahore cemetery on 3 December 2013. The state failed to protect the Shi'a Hazara community in Balochistan from armed group attacks despite a heavy military presence in the province, resulting in at least 84 deaths in 2013. “Annual Report: Pakistan 2013”, *Amnesty International*, https://www.amnestyusa.org/reports/annual-report-pakistan-2013/

“There were reports of members of religious minorities, including Hindus, Christians and Ahmadis, migrating to other counties because State of Human Rights in 2015. Members of religious minorities, including Hindus, Christians and Ahmadis faced faith-based violence of fear of faith-based violence, while some sectarian minorities were displaced within Pakistan. …. In October, a media report suggested that around 1,200 Pakistani Hindus had travelled to India over the past five years in order to escape discrimination and religious persecution. Many were reported to have cited challenges in educating their children and harassment of women. A group, which claimed to have arrived in India in 2011, said they had left Hyderabad district in Pakistan to escape “religious and cultural persecution and government apathy”. “Freedom of Thought, Conscience, and Religion, Fundamental Freedoms”, State of Human Rights in 2015, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, PDF File, *http://hrcp-web.org/hrcpweb/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/freedom-of-thought.pdf*, p. 2-3.

"Defenceless Minorities: Terrorism-related fatalities across Pakistan have witnessed sharp decline over the past few years, but attacks targeting places of worship of the minorities remain unabated. In the latest attack, on May 8, 2019, at least 12 people, including six Police officials and six civilians, were killed and 24 were injured when a suicide bomber blew himself up as he was stopped from entering a Sufi (mystical form of Islam) shrine in Lahore, the provincial capital of Punjab. The shrine is of Lahore’s patron Sufi saint Syed Ali bin Osman Al-Hajvery, popularly known as Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh. Since 2005, at least 11 Sufi shrines across nine places in three provinces and the Islamabad Capital Territory have been targeted, resulting in the death of 243 persons and injuries to another 737. The worst of these attacks till date was on February 16, 2017, when a suicide attacker blew himself up inside the Lal Shahbaz Qalandar Shrine in the Sehwan Sharif town of Sindh, killing 91 and injuring 300. In addition to Sufi shrines, Shia Imambargahs have also long been targeted by Sunni extremist militants. Since 2002, at least 47 Imambargahs have been attacked, resulting in 646 fatalities and 1,522 persons injured." Tushar Ranjan Mohanty, Research Associate, Institute for Conflict Management, South Asia Terrorism Portal, Second Sight, Volume 1, No. 42, May 10, 2019, *https://www.satp.org/second-sight-volume-1-no-42*

"GUJRANWALA: Three female members of the Ahmadi community, including two minors, were killed late Sunday and eight others were severely injured when an angry mob attacked and burnt five houses, a storage building and several vehicles over alleged blasphemy.... Salimuddin, a spokesman for the Ahmadi community, said it was the worst attack on the community since simultaneous attacks on Ahmadi places of worship killed 86 Ahmadis four years ago. “Police were there but just watching the burning. They didn't do anything to stop the mob,” he said. “First they looted their homes and shops and then they burnt the homes.” Iqbal Mirza, *Dawn*, July 28, 2014, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1122143*

"Pakistani mob destroys 100-year-old minority Ahmadi mosque, ISLAMABAD (Reuters) - A mob led by right-wing Muslim clerics tore down the dome and minarets of a 100-year old Pakistani mosque belonging to the marginalized

minds and inculcating a worldview in which only Muslims (and only certain kinds of Muslims) are *Pak* (Pure) and all other minorities are impure. "One case study specifically mentions the influence of the textbooks, as a Christian student not only feels offense at the way her faith is portrayed in the books but her Muslim classmates' reference them in denigrating her faith."[192] According to the 2017 census, religious minorities are a small percent of the country (3.73 percent), living with the majority (96.28 percent) Muslim population in Pakistan.[193]Heightened extremism and sectarian violence have important

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Ahmadi community, officials and the community said on Thursday. Saad Sayeed, *Reuters,* May 24, 2018, *https://www.reuters.com/article/us-pakistan-ahmadis/pakistani-mob-destroys-100-year-old-minority-ahmadi-mosque-idUSKCN1IP20H*

"I have lost all faith in our judiciary," says Motumel, who has represented scores of Hindu families in conversion cases. "The first thing the judge asks the girl is to recite the Kalma (the basic Islamic tenet whereby you accept that you are a Muslim) and once she does that, no Hindu family can take her back." In the courtroom, he says, "whenever the girl enters, she is usually surrounded by scores of religious zealots, creating an atmosphere of fear, not just for the girl but the lawyers and even the judges. Outside the court, you find armed men waiting for the crowd to come out." Credit: Fahim Siddiqi/IPS, Zofeen Ebrahim, Hindu Girls Targeted in Coerced Conversions, Inter Press Service (IPS), March 30, 2012, *http://www.ipsnews.net/2012/03/hindu-girls-targeted-in-coerced-conversions/*

"On March 23, 2015, a Hindu soldier, Ashok Kumar, who laid down his life fighting in Waziristan in 2013, was awarded the Tamgha-i-Shujaat. But surprisingly, his name was suffixed with "late" and not "Shaheed" (martyr) as used for Muslim soldiers who have sacrificed their lives. Did Kumar not die for love of country? He is perhaps the only Hindu who has sacrificed his life in the Pakistan Army. Hindus were not allowed to join the armed forces until before 2000, and they were only welcomed in the national military during the reign of Pervez Musharraf. This is in contrast with the country's Christian community whose members have been serving in the army for much longer—with many on senior postings." Kapil Dev, No man's Land I am a Hindu-and a proud Pakistani, *Quartz India*, June24, 2015, *https://qz.com/india/435699/i-am-a-hindu-and-a-proud-pakistani/*

"Ongoing disputes involving the country's controversial Blasphemy Law have particularly heightened religious tensions. In 1998, when a high ranking member of the Sharif cabinet hinted at reform of the Blasphemy Law, a Justice of the High Court of Lahore vocalized a public call for his murder. Though he eventually withdrew the charge, his statement raised doubts about the access to justice for the religious minorities in his court. The assassination of Punjab Governor Salman Taseer by his own bodyguard was motivated by the Governor's public support of Aasia Bibi, the Christian mother of three condemned to death for alleged criticism of the Prophet. In August 2011, Taseer's son went missing and had not been found at the time of this writing. While the assassination of Governor Taseer was widely condemned by prominent members of both the Islamic and religious minority community, the three days of mourning announced by President Zardari were boycotted by powerful religious organizations. Eight weeks later, the Christian Minister for Minority Affairs Shahbaz Bhatti was assassinated (purportedly by the Pakistani Taliban) for heading a government committee which is reviewing the Blasphemy Law." Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), *Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas,* Op.Cit. p.23, PDF File, *https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf*.

[192] Ibid, p.115.

[193]"Population By Religion", *Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Government of Pakistan*, PDF File, *http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files//tables/POPULATION%20BY%20RELIGION.pdf*

Hindu rights activist Kapil Dev accused the government of divisiveness by having a caste option in the census, when the community believes it should be recorded as one entity. The Sikh faith failed to make it onto the survey altogether. Radesh Singh Tony went to court in Peshawar because there was no mention of Sikhism on the form. The court ruled in the activist's favour, ordering the government to include Sikhs - but the count had already begun, and Radesh was not optimistic. "The government has a record of ignoring court orders," he told AFP. "Census source of fear and hope for minorities", *AFP, The Nation,* May 22, 2017,

roles in contributing to the deterioration of Pakistan's social and economic conditions. However, sectarianism and the exploitation of non-Muslims drastically contradict the teachings of the Quran. "There are many verses in the Quran, from both the Meccan and Medinan periods, that call for peaceful and cooperative relations with People of the Book (those with a revealed scripture), specifically mentioning Christians and Jews. Many of these verses place Islam within a long line of prophets beginning with Adam and continuing through biblical figures including Abraham, Moses, Joseph, and David up through John the Baptist and Jesus. The Quran also explicitly confirms the truth of the Torah, Psalms, and Gospels as revelations from God (Quran 3:3-4, 5:45-47), calls upon Muslims to *respect* the People of the Book as those sharing a common faith in God (Quran 3:64, 29:46), and assures that Jews and Christians who follow the teachings of their faith will go to Heaven (Quran 5:69). Quran 5:48 addresses Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike: "We have assigned a law and a path to each of you. If God had so willed, He would have made you one community, but He wanted to test you through that which He has given you, so race to do good: you will all return to God and He will make clear to you the matters you differed about." Similarly, Quran 49:13 declares, "People, We created you all from a single man and a single woman, and made you into races and tribes so that you should come to know one another. In God's eyes, the most honored of you are the ones most mindful of Him: God is all knowing, all aware." The fact that these messages and guidance were repeated in both Mecca and Medina means that peaceful coexistence, cooperation, and religious pluralism are the overall guiding principles (Shariah) that span the full history of Muhammad's ministry."[194]

In addition, the desperate socio-economic and health conditions in Pakistan also are important in raising religious radicalization. In her protracted interviews and group discussions with over 250 parents and 350 students across the socioeconomic and geographical divide, Massoda Bano identified growing apprehension about the daily uncertainties of life amongst respondents from the middle-and lower-income groups. The deteriorating state structure, the uncertainty of income and employment, the shortage of health services along with the proliferation of public health epidemics like hepatitis, and the poor law and order situations led people to cling even more to their religious faith. A father of a Madrasa student explained, "This life is so uncertain. Especially in this country, there is such a high level of uncertainty. One does not know what will happen the next day. This has made people turn to Islam even more. When you are reminded of death so frequently, you begin to think of investing in the other-world a bit more…" The justice system in Pakistan is weak; lawsuit proceedings can extend over decades. Life is vulnerable at various levels: many of those experiencing severe diseases do not have the resources to buy health care or, even severer —in the nonexistence of a state monitoring system, those who can manage to pay for prescribed cure risk catching other illnesses owing to insecure practices in the various health center and hospitals.[195] These insecurities demonstrating the aspects of daily life in Pakistan that lead common people to turn towards religion; they look towards entrenched influential religious leaders for guidance.

The Establishments' Role in Producing Text Books

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http://nation.com.pk/22-May-2017/census-source-of-fear-and-hope-for-minorities

[194] John L. Esposito, Natana J. Delong-BAS, *Sharia, What Everyone Needs to Know*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), p.169-70.

[195] Masooda Bano, The Rational Believer, Choices and Decisions in the Madrasas of Pakistan, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), p.109-10.

The government mechanism is operating at all stages. It formulates the education policy; makes, operates, manages and supervises the Textbook Boards; orders the compilation of the books; provides the guiding principles to be respected; assigns the authors and reviewers; examines and rectifies the manuscripts; authorizes the final drafts, and issues and sells the books. Every institution and organization participating in the lengthy and costly process work - the University Grants Commission, the National Review Committee, the Allama Iqbal Open University, and the Quad-i-Azam University - is under the control of the Federal Ministry of Education. The federal and provincial governments control all the universities in the country whose teachers are authors of textbooks. The various Textbook Boards are under the administrative control of the provincial governments, however, they receive directives from Islamabad regarding textbooks and they are required to send every manuscript to the federal capital to be examined, revised, and ratified by the assessment committee. The language and details of the given themes and topics are then customized to fit each grade. The government colleges that provide various authors are divisions of the provincial educational department, and their teachers are civil servants. The consistency of the prejudice that defaces the writing suggests that there was a master script and all authors were directed to comply with its contents. This suggestion gains strength from the reality that the exaggerations and falsifications of the books mirror the official mind.[196]

"Under the 18th Amendment to the constitution in 2010, pre-university education was completely devolved to provinces, and the prerogative of the central government to define and design school curricula was taken away and given to provinces."[197] Therefore, as a result of the 18th Amendment, education was decentralized and now the provinces have authority. However, even after decentralization, they still have to follow the state policy; it seems easier to go along with previous guidelines instead of struggling for a more autonomous position. "…textbook writers in Sindh and Baluchistan followed the same curriculum outlines laid down by the federal government, as writers for other provinces were required to follow."[198]

Textbook writing is a well-paid business. When 100,000 or more copies of a book are sold a year, it is worth a potential author fighting for a writing agreement even if the final version has many authors. University professors with foreign degrees, senior college lecturers, and principals of colleges compete with one another for authorship. Influence is mobilized, references are collected, relationships are used, favors are assured, threats are given, and bribes are offered.[199]

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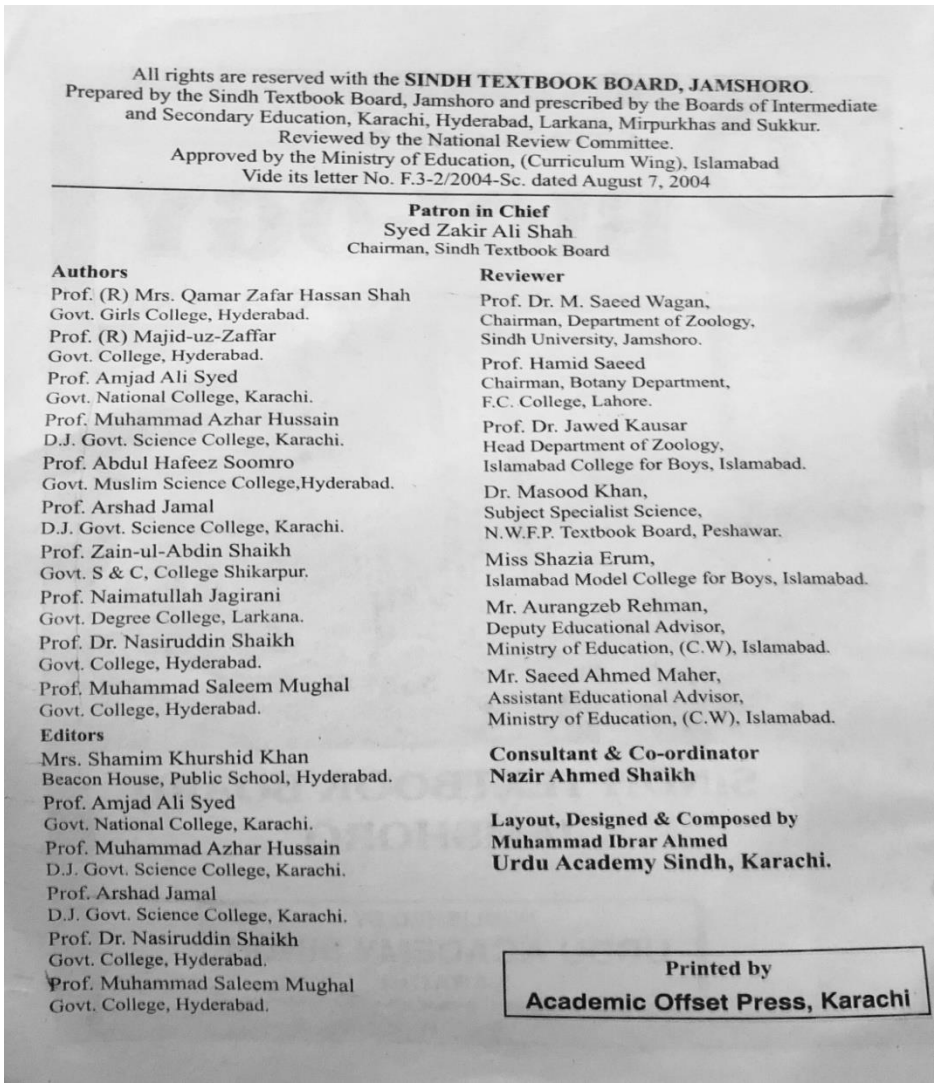
[196]Ibid, p.278-9.

[197] A. H. Nayyar, A Missed Opportunity, Continuing Flaws in the New Curriculum and Textbooks After Reforms, Op.Cit. p.9.

[198] Zahra Sabri, "A textbook case: Do school books glorify war and martyrdom?" Op.Cit. *https://herald.dawn.com/news/1152839*

[199] K.K. Aziz, The Murder of History, A Critique of history textbooks used in Pakistan, op.Cit. p.284-5.



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A total of 10 authors, 6 editors, 7 reviewers, and 1 coordinator were paid for their participation in the process of producing this single book of Biology.

Pervez Hoodbhoy calculated Sindh's potential market for the sale of textbooks. "Let's look at the economics of crookery. Sindh's population is about 30 million, so each class 4 textbook titles would have a print run of around 300-400 thousand. Multiplying by the number of titles, and about Rs150 per title, you see that billions of rupees are involved. The publishers, distributors, authors, and managers know the weaknesses of a public monopoly. In an opaque system, who profits how much is anybody's guess."[200]Recently the government has begun issuing free books for the students; however, the authors, editors, reviewers, publishers, and distributors presumably do not offer their "*hard work"* for free. The government saved expenses by using low-quality paper and by not using any color illustrations, making it dull and uninteresting for the students.

The first category of the authors of textbooks are scholars with Ph.Ds. and other degrees from Western universities, some with local research education, and some with master's degrees from Pakistani

[200] Pervez Hoodbhoy, "Burn these books, please!", *Dawn,* December 12, 2015, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1225815/burn-these-books-please*

universities (several in two or three subjects, several with gold medals and other merits to their credit). Renowned university professors and administrators of research institutes, heads of departments in fine colleges, and unknown lecturers in substandard colleges appear as authors. Likewise, the second category of professional educationalist ranges from vice-chancellors and registrars through high-ranking civil servants to employees of textbook boards. In official terms, both categories are well qualified because of their experience in teaching, supervision, or directorship of research institutions. In the textbook boards themselves, there are consultants, high-ranking editors, editors, senior subject experts, subject experts, and supervisors. [201]

However, missing from this picture of the authors, are any grade-level teachers. It is their professional specialty. They understand the mentality of the school student. They comprehend his/her psychology, ability to grasp new facts, requirements, absorbing capability, and ability to see through deceit. They are aware of the harm a substandard book can do to student character. They are accustomed to the natural development of their pupils' brains and can determine what ought to be taught to in a particular year and what should be added in the subsequent year. Assigning, explaining and enhancing the teaching material and helping students graduate is their profession. By interacting with students, teachers develop empathy for the class and care for their ethical and intellectual well-being. It is teachers who respond to student questions, resolve their problems; set the exam papers, check the scripts and pass or fail them. Teachers spend 35-40 years of their lives in the company of the students. Yet the school teacher doesn't have anything whatsoever to do with the formation of the book from which he/she teaches each day.[202]

Second Dimension: Zia-ul-Haq's Systematic Islamization

Under General Zia-ul-Haq, in the 1970s and 80s, with complete backing from Islamic parties, ideologically charged individuals hijacked the Curriculum Wing. Children were taught that wicked plots were designed against Pakistan. The curriculum stated that the notion of the "Ideology of Pakistan" stood for zero tolerance of dissent and diversity.[203] As mentioned above, "The basic aim of this policy is to rear a new generation wedded to the ideology of Pakistan and Islam, 'Zia said. This decision had far-reaching consequences: it quashed the potential for critical thinking in the next generation, encouraged a false narrative of history and introduced religious bigotry to students at an early age."[204]On Dec 19, 1980, General Zia ul Haq outlawed the publication of any matter prejudicial to the honor and safety of Pakistan, morality, and preservation of public order or against the objective of Martial Law released Martial Law Regulation No 49. In the case of defilement, the convict was to be punished with severe incarceration, which could extend up to 10 years, 25 lashes and a fine.[205] In 1978 under General Zia ul Haq' presidency, implemented the policy redefine the educational system to produce citizens completely conversant with Pakistan ideology. "The Ministry of Education has also established a

[201] K.K. Aziz, The Murder of History, A Critique of history textbooks used in Pakistan, op.Cit. p.280-1.

[202] K.K. Aziz, The Murder of History, A Critique of history textbooks used in Pakistan, op.Cit. p. 282-284 passim.

[203]Dr. Pervez Hoodbhoy, "Pluralism And Qazi Husain", https://mm-gold.azureedge.net/Articles/hoodbhoy/pluralism.html

[204] Farhanaz Ispahani, *Purifying the Land of Pure*, Op.Cit. p.117.

[205] Shaikh Aziz, "A leaf from history: Four journalists flogged, two newspapers shut", *Dawn*, May 03 2015, https://www.dawn.com/news/1179170/a-leaf-from-history-four-journalists-flogged-two-newspapers-shut

separate Cell for ensuring that ideological education is woven into the entire fabric of the educational system."[206]

General Zia-ul-Haq managed to make the conformist Jama'at-i-Islami, the champions of "education ideology". According to Dr. Mubarak Ali, a renowned historian of Pakistan, the combined effort of the government of Pakistan and the Ulama to politicize Islam came to fruition. Both of them used Islam as a weapon and exploited it with government power from the top. Zia used the catchphrase of Nizam-i-Mustafa (system of governance attributed to the Holy Prophet) to show that the government was sincere in implementing sharia for people's welfare. The important outcome was the Islamization of the syllabus. From primary schools to universities, teachers were trained to teach every subject, whether natural sciences or social sciences, with regard to Islam. Pakistani media also actively participated, as allies, in shaping public opinions for religious reforms. For instance, the longstanding custom of 'Khuda Hafiz' was changed to 'Allah Hafiz', which is now widespread in Pakistani society. The main goal behind this was to lessen the Persian influence on Pakistani culture and move in the direction of a superior Arabicisation. This process produced religious extremism and narrow-mindedness in the doorways and homes of the masses.[207]

Ziaul Haq's period is perceived by researchers as one where these tendencies only strengthened, together with the cumulative manipulation of Islam and Islamic mottos of jihad and martyrdom. Zahra Sabri cited Tariq Rahman's 2005 book *Denizens of Alien Worlds*, that in Zia's era, "Islam was used to support the state's own militaristic policies in a way that it appeared to the readers of these textbooks that Pakistan, the Pakistan movement, Pakistan's wars with India and the Kashmir issue were all connected not only with Pakistani nationalism but with Islam itself."[208] "The entire curricula and textbooks will be reviewed to ensure that adequate content on Islam and Islamic Ideology is included and due coverage is given to instructional materials aimed at the promotion of national cohesion and integration. Textbooks of all levels will also be revised to ensure that Islamic ideology is protected and high academic standards are maintained."[209] However, with faulty elements and wrong information, the books are inculcating bad knowledge instead of "high academic standards". The unnecessary chapters of religion and history in English and Urdu are some of the sources of radicalization of young minds. For example, the 10th-grade compulsory English book of the Punjab board starts with the Arabic verse of Bismillah-i-Rahman-i-Rahim. Then the first chapter is "Hazrat Muhammad (Arabic) Salalah-u-Alaih-e-Wassallum an Embodiment of Justice".[210] The Urdu book for 10th Grade, published by Ilmi Kitab Khana,

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[206] Mumtaz Ahmad, Husnul Amin, *A Documentary History of Islamic Education in Pakistan*, Vol-II, 1971-2012, p.28, Op.Cit.

[207] Dr. Mubarak Ali, *Pakistan in Search of Identity*, Op. Cit. p.124, PDF File, *http://www.drmubarakali.org/assets/pakistan-in-search-of-identity.pdf*.

[208] Tariq Rahman, Denizens of Alien Worlds, A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan, Op.Cit P.18.

[209] Mumtaz Ahmad, Husnul Amin, A Documentary History of Islamic Education in Pakistan, Op.Cit. p.31.

[210] "English Compulsory for 10th Grade", A Sole Text Book for All Government Schools in Punjab for the Academic Year 2013-2014, Caravan Book House Lahore, p.1-14, PDF File, *https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B8q85Osuxn84VHJQTmNVQXY0NHc/view*

Urdu Bazaar Lahore[211] is used to teach this compulsory subject. However, the textbook starts with Hamd then Na'at, which is again unnecessary and inappropriate for Non-Muslim minorities. There is no need for the "Pakistan's Ideology" chapter in a textbook on Urdu. Its emphasis disregards the actual facts of the partition. For example, the significant participation of Christians and other religious minorities in the Pakistan Movement is ignored, in spite of the fact that the Christian members of the Punjab Assembly played a decisive role in the division of Punjab. Likewise, the role of Joginder Nath Mandal cannot be denied in the Pakistan Movement.[212] Besides, Pakistan Studies is already a compulsory subject, so there is no need to teach this again in Urdu. Furthermore, the first line of the Pakistan Ideology chapter is biased itself as it says, "Muslims are always tolerant but whenever infidels tried to get power, then Muslims always retained their position of strength in every challenging situation. King Akbar's 'excessive tolerance' and Hindus' participation in the country's politics led to the prevalence of *infidels'* practices to the great extent in the country that Muslims' freedom in their own religious matters was lost."[213] Hindus are harshly regarded as infidels and Muslims are considered to be superior to Hindus and other communities.

The U.S. Afghan War deeply affected Pakistan in many ways. It especially influenced the books used for the religion and history curricula. Pakistan started fighting the long proxy war after the USSR invaded Afghanistan in 1979, which was fueled by American dollars and arms. American think-tanks and NGOs were enthusiastically shaping Pakistan's national policies because they wanted an entire generation of jihadists. These policies served the American international agenda however appallingly they would affect Pakistan's social order after the jihad ended in Afghanistan. The returning jihadists from Afghanistan waged jihad equally against those who were considered as 'lesser' Muslims and non-Muslims. Hence, sectarian killings became rampant. A closer look at the curriculum of Pakistan Studies and Islamiat for various levels is enough to make evident that the state- hate ideology has been systematically instilled in the minds of an entire generation of school children as well as college and university graduates of that time.[214] The textbooks, which were filled with talk of jihad and featured drawings of guns, bullets, soldiers, and mines, have served since then as the Afghan school system's core curriculum. Interestingly, the radicalized syllabus for Afghan children, who were living in camps in Pakistan, was designed in the US University of Nebraska[215]. In the mid-80s under Zia's rule, the number

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[211] "Urdu Compulsory for 10th Grade", Text Book for All Government School in Punjab for the Academic Year 2016-2017, Ilmi KitabKhana Kabir Street Lahore, PDF File, https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B8q85Osuxn84bEFuc29DRkh6cjA/view

[212] Anjum James Paul, "Biased Pakistani Textbooks", Op.Cit. p.13. http://www.itacec.org/document/learning_resources/2014/BIASED%20%20PAKISTANI%20TEXTBOOKS.pdf

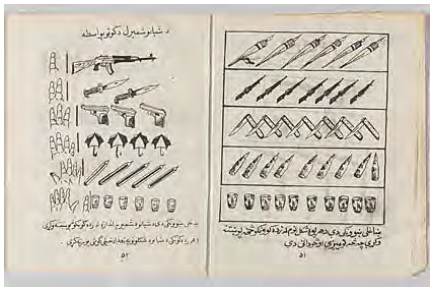
[213] "Urdu Compulsory for 10th Grade", Op.Cit. p.22, PDF File, https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B8q85Osuxn84bEFuc29DRkh6cjA/view.

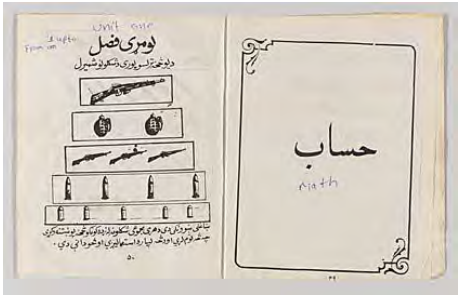
[214] Muhammad Safeer Awan, "Impact of Radical Islamisation of Education on Pakistani Society", *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2012), p.47-8.

[215] "In the twilight of the Cold War, the United States spent millions of dollars to supply Afghan schoolchildren with textbooks filled with violent images and militant Islamic teachings, part of covert attempts to spur resistance to the Soviet occupation." https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2002/03/23/from-us-the-abcs-of-jihad/d079075a-3ed3-4030-9a96-0d48f6355e54/?utm_term=.8a1156c968e0

"Printed both in Pashto and Dari, Afghanistan's two major languages, books such as "The Alphabet for Jihad Literacy" were produced under the auspices of the U.S. Agency for International Development by the University of Nebraska at Omaha and smuggled into Afghanistan through networks built by the CIA and Pakistan's military

of Madrasas increased dramatically because both the Pakistani government and the CIA were financing them. Moreover, Madrasas were established along the Afghan-Pakistan border to create a military unit of religiously motivated Mujahidins to be at war with the Soviets in Afghanistan. Students in these Madrasas were taught to fight the 'Godless' Russians and make certain that Afghanistan could be established as a virtuous religious state. Students learned basic mathematics by counting dead Russians and hand grenades[216] as well as pictures of tanks, missiles, and land mines.





A page from an Afghanistani textbook that utilizes pictures of grenades, rifles, and shells as symbols and a page from a math textbook that uses the pictures of pistols, rifles, pens, knives, umbrellas, shells and cups as counting symbols.[217]

This affected the Pakistani curriculum as there were many Pakistanis participating in the Afghan war. The mujahedeen were considered heroes in Pakistan, who fought and defeated the "infidel" Russians. The following are the prevailing teaching curriculum books in an Iqra school, which is a well-known Islamic school for lower middle classes, with branches spread far and wide in the country.

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intelligence agency, the ISI." *https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/12/08/the-taliban-indoctrinates-kids-with-jihadist-textbooks-paid-for-by-the-u-s/?utm_term=.fa4cb46b13ec*

[216]Uzma Anzar, "Islamic Education A Brief History of Madrassas With Comments on Curricula and Current Pedagogical Practices", Op.Cit. p.18. *http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1121703274255/1439264-1126807073059/Islamic_Education_Paper.pdf*,

[217]"(Above are the images of Afghan textbooks housed in the National Army Museum in Britain. Inside the children's book, statements like "I am the enemy of Russia" intermingle with such banal observations as "In winter weather is cold". Brainwashing children who are too young to even know that winter is cold isn't ethical) Courtesy National Army Museum, The Washington Post notes that "one page from the texts of that period shows a resistance fighter with a bandolier and a Kalashnikov slung from his shoulder. The soldier's head is missing. Above the soldier is a verse from the Koran. Below is a Pashtu tribute to the mujaheddin, who are described as obedient to Allah. Such men will sacrifice their wealth and life itself to impose Islamic law on the government, the text says." *http://anonhq.com/45866-2/*

Here it asks a question, “what is the use of the sword?” And the answer says, “It is used for fighting infidels”. The picture of the grave of Ismail Shah Shaheed (d.1831).[218]

N for News and pictures of 9-11’s news, P for Pistol, X for Extremist, F for Fighter, G for Gentlemen: the picture of an Army officer.

The medals’ are *Nishan-i-Haider* of Pakistan, an award for the martyred military officer.

As another example of the effects of the drive towards Islamization, “…strong evidence for the high demand for religious rewards in the Pakistani society rests in the mushrooming of private schools since the late 1980s, which combine modern and religious education. Iqra school chain and the *Roza-tul-Atfal Trust* are two examples of establishments that are running a continuously expanding network of schools across Pakistan targeting the middle- and upper-income groups. Along with the teaching of modern subjects such as English, computer science, and mathematics, these schools... make the child memorize the Quran in the higher grades. The children are admitted from the age of three, where at the initial stage they are taught to read the Quran; the emphasis then moves on to memorization of the Quran and in the secondary stages the focus shifts to secular subjects.[219] Private Islamic schools are teaching violent materials to the youngest children. These schools are spreading all over Pakistan and famous for the Quran Hifz plus matric (10th grade) the national board exam syllabus. This kind of syllabus may have contributed to motivating the negativity in youngsters that further polarizes Pakistani society.

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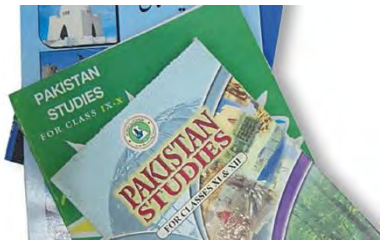
[218] Shah Ismail Shaheed was a warrior in the jihad proclaimed by Syed Ahmad Barelvi with Pushtun tribes support against the Sikh Empire, which ruled the northwest Indian subcontinent with their base in Punjab in the early half of the 19th century. He was killed on 6 May 1831 during a fierce battle against the army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780 – 1839).

[219] Massoda Bano, The Rational Believer, Choices and Decisions in the Madrasas of Pakistan, Op.Cit. P.107-8.

Another chain of Islamic schools is the Hira Educational Project established in 1990 in Lahore (but in 1997 the name was modified to Hira National Educational Foundation0. The goal of this enterprise is to educate students along both Islamic and modern lines. Consequently, Arabic and Islamic moral lessons are taught from grade I. Science and mathematics' books are in English. Social studies are in Urdu and Urdu is compulsory. As the students and teachers are from modest backgrounds, interaction is normally in Urdu or the local language. Currently, the schools operate in 13 regions. The total number of institutions is 215. Around 45,000 students are enrolled in these institutions.

Another chain of the Islamic schools, both Urdu and English medium, is the Siqara school system. A girls' school in a lower-middle-class neighborhood in Lahore compels both students and teachers to wear the hijab (scarf covering the head and breasts) while books are examined for their anti-Islamic content. Indeed, the principal of one of the boy's schools of the Siqara system reported to Tariq Rahman that he had altered the pictures of women by drawing full sleeves and headscarves by his own pen in English books for use in their schools. [220]

Inaccurate Contents to Justify Military Governments' Wrongs



The detrimental overemphasis on security doctrine has been due to a lack of political succession and the successive military regimes. It has affected the depiction of history in the curricula of Pakistan Studies, which progressively portrayed 'glorification of military'. Pakistan has been the cradle of various civilizations and the birthplace of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism while Islam, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism have been welcomed here. Naturally, they all influenced the development of myriad cultures that rise above their individual hues. However, since General Zia's systemic Islamization-of-Islam, there has been intolerance of other cultures, religions, and other sects within Islam itself. Hence, minorities, related to native cultures or religions, have been suffering from the violence committed by sects; belief in the exclusive interpretation of Islam. Moreover, the glorification of militant Islam has been instilled in the minds of the young through the national curricula. This curriculum follows certain cardinal principles: (a) that India is a perennial threat to Pakistan's existence; (b) that Islam is the only cementing force that can keep Pakistanis united since their cultural differentiation is too obvious; (c) that the military is the second holy power (after Islam) that binds Pakistan together and a guarantor of its existence; (d) that Pakistan belongs to the Ummah, the Middle East, and not to the South Asian cultural history celebrated by diversity and plurality. [221]

A recent Sindh textbook for grades 11 and 12 talks about the "intrigue and disunity" and "intense internal strife and selfishness" that the Muslim League had become infected with after Pakistan's

[220] Tariq Rahman, Denizens of Alien Worlds, A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan, Op.cit. p. 65-6.

[221] Muhammad Safeer Awan, "Impact of Radical Islamisation of Education on Pakistani Society", *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies*, Op.Cit. p.46-7.

founder Muhammad Ali Jinnah's death in 1948, with terms like "political mischief", "disruption", "disintegration", "fissiparous tendencies" altogether within a few lines. It ends with a concluding sentence that "The country had to pay a heavy price for all the evil doings of the selfish politicians and leaders". Recent textbooks for Class IX from Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa dedicate a specific segment to "important causes" for the 1958 martial law, registering elements such as political clash, weak economic conditions, dearth of political leadership, smuggling and nepotism, as well as the, role of bureaucracy, instability, provincial biases, political unsteadiness and postponement in elections. The conditions in which Ayub Khan "abrogated the Constitution and imposed Martial Law" are considered as unavoidable and even justified. This establishes the foundation for students to comprehend all future impositions of martial law as also inescapable and justified since elements such as insecurity, biases, and smuggling will always be found in the national landscape. The undeniable part of this is that textbook author are not only delineating facts but also imparting value judgments in an extremely discriminatory manner. In contrast to earlier textbooks, several of the newest ones in the NC2006 seem much less confused in their explanation of political proceedings, and occasionally this tendency does not work in the military's favor. For instance, the current Sindh textbook for grades IX-X is highly candid in its criticism of the army's undertakings. "After the general election of December 1970, the law and order situation in East Pakistan had gone from bad to worse. Instead of finding a political solution to the situation the then Military regime decided to suppress the Awami League … This fanned the flame. The army began military action against the separatist movement of the Awami League. This created hatred among Bengalis which also led to the armed struggle." While this still does not acknowledge the full extent of atrocities perpetrated by the Pakistani army as testified by the Hamoodur Rahman Commission, it is a comparatively less prejudiced representation of events in the East Pakistan fiasco. The authors of the book also do not strive to lionize army actions in the later war. "Due to the lack of support of the local populace and the poor arrangements of supply of men and material, Pakistani soldiers surrendered before the Indian army on December 16, 1971 … On December 16, 1971, East Pakistan became an independent and free state of Bangladesh."

Although past books are "virtually silent about 1971", some textbooks discuss the 'Fall of East Pakistan' in considerable detail. Although Hindus from India and East Pakistan have customarily been believed accountable for plotting the division between Pakistan's two wings in 1971, various textbooks additionally recognize the part played by the Pakistani army. Although textbooks from Punjab, a long-established stronghold of the army are, unsurprisingly, more traditionalist in this regard, the Class X textbook for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, perceived as another military stronghold, contains a specific subheading about army "interference" in East Pakistan.[222]

It is interesting that the Army Public Schools and College Systems do not have excessive praise for Military, unlike the public schools' or the lower middle-class Islamic schools' curriculum. Their books are cleansed from radicalized materials. Like most elite schools, they use imported books mostly published by the Oxford university press.[223]

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[222] Zahra Sabri, "A textbook case: Do school books glorify war and martyrdom?", *Herald*, Nov 15, 2016, *https://herald.dawn.com/news/1152839*

[223] Army Public School and College System Secretariat, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, 2012, PDF File, *http://www.apsacssectt.edu.pk/download%20material/Curr%20Deptt/2018/APSACS%20Pre%20O%20&%20O%20l*

This contrived attempt at homogenization by ignoring and denigrating nonMuslims is not a new effort of the military in the Zia-ul-Haq era. According to Rubina Saigol, it existed in the early history of Pakistan as well. The pressure between a homogenized 'national' syllabus and one that represents a diverse polity was evident even in the era of Ayub Khan when a centralized state was being formed. The creation of Pakistani nationhood signified a shift from decentralization to nationalism and from diversity to homogeneity. Ayub Khan was keen to establish education as performing the role of nation-building by removing previous identities for the new one that was in an embryonic stage and too fragile to have a dependable identity. In a speech in 1961, Ayub Khan underlined the requirement "to undergo similar educational curricula… the standard of values becomes common and from that cohesion emerges national feeling". In various speeches, he lamented the lack of homogenization in West Pakistan and, while mentioning to the federating units, stated that "these units were a serious impediment in the way of political and economic growth".[224] However, it is ironic as intolerance arises inevitably from the kind of nation-building designed for uniting Pakistani citizen that was based on Muslim identity. It made ethnic diversity hard to deal with because the imposed curricula have been filled with the exclusivity of Muslims that indoctrinates intolerance. According to A.H. Nayyar, "Thirty years ago, in 1985, Pervez Hoodbhoy and I had written an essay Rewriting the History of Pakistan in which we argued that Gen Zia and his political ally the JI "view education as an important means of creating an Islamized society" and that this effort included "the revision of conventional subjects to emphasize Islamic values". We had warned then, "The full impact ... will probably be felt by the turn of the century, when the present generation of schoolchildren attains maturity". The religious violence the country is now suffering from, directed especially at religious minorities, is one result. Without urgent fundamental reform of our education system, this terrible war may last at least another generation.[225] In the same way, Dr. Mubarak Ali lamented, "All history textbooks are now heavily loaded with anti-Indian writings. The logical outcome, as a result of reading these textbooks, is that generation after generation is polluted with hatred, prejudice, and intolerance."[226] Traditionally, our disciplines of humanities were negatively affected owing to the supremacy of national security and the subservience of education to the defense discourse. Since we had to obviously support our independence from India, our education was made subservient to the policy people and the state bureaucracies.[227]

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evel%20Booklist%202018-19.pdf, Accessed 18 April, 2018. *http://www.apsacssectt.edu.pk/sectt_downloads.htm*, Accessed 18 April, 2018.

[224] Rubina Saigol, "Education and devolution", *The Express Tribune*, April 21st, 2011, *https://tribune.com.pk/story/153102/education-and-devolution/*

[225] A.H. Nayyar, "War to mould minds", *Dawn*, May 17th, 2015, PDF File, *http://eacpe.org/content/uploads/2014/05/War-to-mould-minds.pdf* *https://www.dawn.com/news/1182401/war-to-mould-minds* Accessed 18 April, 2018.

[226] Dr. Mubarak Ali, *Pakistan in Search of Identity*, Op.Cit. p.79, PDF File, *http://www.drmubarakali.org/assets/pakistan-in-search-of-identity.pdf*

[227] As per Ayesha Siddiqa, "I got the opportunity to listen to a lecture on Jinnah and his impact on the Pakistani state. It was shocking to see the product of our university system, especially after the tall claims made by Attaur Rahman and his Higher Education Commission (HEC) regarding advancements made in all fields of higher education in the past 10 years. The gent who was giving the lecture had elevated Jinnah to heights from where asking even the simplest question would be tantamount to blasphemy. Furthermore, he used his unacademic emotional diatribe to give the founding father a peculiar ideological colour. For instance, Jinnah's famous

Third Dimension: Technical Issues in the Curriculum

Which should be the Language of Instruction? *A question still unresolved*

There has never been a national consensus on which languages should be used and taught in schools. In 2015, the Sindh government decreed that Chinese would be compulsory for grades six to ten within three years. It was never implemented. Children in Pakistani schools today are expected to be trilingual but lack proper learning in any language. For above 90 percent, their mother tongue is not Urdu, for instance, Sindhi, Pashto, Punjabi, Seraiki, or Balochi.[228] Research has revealed that children learn best in their mother tongue.[229] "Many studies have shown children do better if they get a basic education in their own language..... Encouraging education in the mother tongue, alongside bilingual or multilingual education, is one of the principles set out by UNESCO."[230] "UNESCO has encouraged mother tongue instruction in primary education since 1953 and UNESCO highlights the advantages of mother tongue education right from the start: children are more likely to enroll and succeed in school... Only those countries where the student's first language is the language of instruction are likely to achieve the goals of Education for All. Research also suggests that engaging marginalized children in school through mother-tongue based, multilingual education (MTB-MLE) is a successful model."[231] However, in school, children are confronted with an Urdu language syllabus and textbooks, explains why children are disconnected from the material.[232]

"There are more than 70 languages spoken in Pakistan, yet Urdu, the national language and the medium of instruction in the majority of state schools is spoken by just 7% of the population."[233]Despite Urdu's limited usage and benefit in the government and non-government sectors, Urdu is imposed as a compulsory subject on students in order to unite the diverse cultures, each of which has its own language. Urdu is the language of instruction in public schools all over in the country. Students studying in Urdu as a second language encounter major challenges, especially in their initial years, which can

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September 11 speech was interpreted as a tactical appeasement of the minorities. The lecture did not shed any light at all on understanding our current state of affairs. The study of history, in particular, is a complex science which is certainly not about presenting or listing events. The study of history is based on how different methodologies can be applied to interpret an event by analysing the times when the event happened while also benefiting from hindsight. It was bizarre to see that the lecturer, who has obtained a doctorate in the past four or five years, disregarded all existing academic works on Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Perhaps people should not have been shocked, because this is the way we tend to treat humanities and social sciences in this country." Ayesha Siddiqa, "The future of social sciences", *The Express Tribune*, April 23, 2011, https://tribune.com.pk/story/155185/the-future-of-social-sciences/

[228] Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Government of Pakistan, Population by Mother Tongue, http://www.pbs.gov.pk/content/population-mother-tongue

[229] Umar Farooq, Mother Tongue First, *Dawn*, October 2010. https://www.dawn.com/news/574399

[230] UNESCO, Education Today, The Mother-Tongue Dilemma, The Newsletter of UNESCO's Education Sector, July-September, 2003, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000130800

[231] Jessica Ball, Children Learn Better in their Mother Tongue, Advancing research on mother tongue-based multilingual education, *Global Partnership for Education*, February 21, 2014, https://www.globalpartnership.org/blog/children-learn-better-their-mother-tongue

[232] Nadia Naviwala, *Pakistan's Education Crisis: The Real Story*, Op.Cit. P.26, PDF File, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/pakistanseducationcrisistherealstory2.pdf.

[233] Max de Lotbinière, "Pakistan facing language 'crisis' in schools", *The Guardian,* US Edition, Tue 7 Dec 2010 09.01 EST, https://www.theguardian.com/education/2010/dec/07/pakistan-schools-language-crisis-lotbiniere

range from slower improvement in reading and writing to dearth of help from parents who also struggle with Urdu.[234] In the words of Neelam Hussain, an educationist (a specialist in the theory of education) who supports teaching in the mother tongue: "We're taking kids who can't speak Urdu and cutting them off at the start by imposing new vocabulary and beating them up in the process. Research shows that once you have a base in one language, you can learn others. We should let them learn in their mother tongue. They can learn other languages later. Between rote learning and rigid examinations, where is the education? You show up, you learn by heart, you replicate, and you pass. You can have millions of schools and put all the kids in them, and you still will not have kids who are educated."[235] Young minds, instead of developing inquisitiveness and expression of self in their mother tongues, are being limited by learning the complexities of new language. Besides, this unnecessary obligation also limited the development of the local languages. We scarcely have significant poets and literates in regional languages. As a poet expresses this grief in the following verse,

"Har boli sikho, sikhni vi chahidi
Par pakki vekh ke, kachchi nahi dhai di
[Learn every language; it's important to do so
But never at the expense of your mother tongue, never at the expense of Punjabi]"[236]

Urdu is spoken everywhere in Pakistan, although many Pakistanis can't read it. But making it the language of instruction is not less than an atrocity against the immature brains as well as on the regional languages. It became one of the main reasons for the increased hatred in Bangalis, Baluchis, and Sindhis. Thus, instead of unifying, this imposition of a common language in early education has resulted in disunion and in furthering the distances in the hearts of Pakistanis for each other. "The unifying advantage of Urdu in Pakistan has been offset by four serious developments: strangling the Punjabi language……obstructing the development of Baluchi as a written language; creating great resentment in Sind; and driving East Pakistan out of Pakistan. Has the price paid been commensurate with the convenience of having a so-called "national" language?"[237]English medium private schools identified the crusade of Urduization in public schools as increasing the desirability of the private schools, since English remains a necessary condition for sophisticated professions. The provision of a Senior Cambridge examination is a rewarding industry, serving profitable benefits to schools.[238] My point is that compulsory subjects should be in the mother tongues; English, being the current official language of the country, should be taught as a separate subject. Likewise, a research report by Alif Ailaan and the Society for the Advancement of Education (SAHE) states, "Teachers have opposed the use of English as the medium of instruction, particularly in the early years of schooling, citing their students' lack of familiarity with the language."As a result, in many cases teacher is required to translate twice, first from English to Urdu and then from Urdu to the local language, to communicate effectively with students."....

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[234] Ibid.

[235] Nadia Nawiwala, *Pakistan's Education Crisis: The Real Story*, (Washington DC: Wilson Center Asia Program, 2016), p.26, PDF File, *https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/pakistanseducationcrisistherealstory2.pdf*.

[236] Rishabh Kochhar, "At first I was afraid but now I can say that I am a proud Punjabi speaker", *Dawn*, February 01, 2018, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1386634*

[237] K.K. Aziz, The Murder of History, A Critique of history textbooks used in Pakistan, Op.Cit. p.242.

[238] Jamal Malik, Colonialization of Islam, Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan, (Manohar Publishers, 1996, New Delhi), p.185.

Aneela Parween, a teacher at the Government Girls High School in Gharo, Thatta, told Dawn that they had to contend with three different languages; Urdu, English, and Sindhi. “It is not easy for students to keep up and makes life very hard for teachers as well,” she said."[239]

Moreover, the dichotomy of education according to the social status has resulted in the further division of society. “Pakistan's commitment to using Urdu as the medium of instruction in its state schools and its ambition to widen access to English language teaching is creating barriers to effective education, limiting economic mobility and undermining social cohesion.”[240]The elites have cut themselves off from the masses by imparting English as their learning language. Fazlur Rahman disappointedly stated that by disallowing the progress of regional languages into a satisfactory means of conveying education, the upper class has detached themselves from their own heritage of religious-intellectual and higher cultural roots. “If there are today practically, and indeed dangerously, two nations in Pakistan, it is not only because the religious leadership has little contact with the demands of a modern society, but even more so because of the cultural bastardy of the Westernized classes. There is absolutely no question that the teeming millions of Muslims will never learn English and that the culturally Western-oriented classes will ever remain a tiny minority. How can a country survive, let alone prosper, with such cultural schizophrenia?”[241] Elites do not consider the ordinary Pakistanis, who cannot speak English, as equal to themselves. The mainstream Pakistanis educated in public schools are ridiculed by the English speaking class as 'Pilay school walay' (yellow school people) because their uniform is mustard-colored in general. This arrogant exclusivity has deepened the abyss between classes and this abyss is another major factor that promotes radicalization in Pakistani society. Since “the politically radicalized, on average, are more educated than moderates: 67% of the politically radicalized have secondary or higher educations.”[242]The society has progressively developed an extremist mentality as a result of its promotion of divisions by language and religion. “The private sector educated elite children to have more leeway for objective thinking but tend to relate little to the two more mainstream student streams. This trend of polarization springing from the dynamics of education also effectively contributes to a widening social divide... Thus, this has the tendency to promote a 'class war mentality' in which a culturally ‘centrist’ class is increasingly wedged in between an indifferent secular elite and an activist ultra-right.”[243]

Prime Minister, Imran Khan, points out that from the start of independence, Pakistan has persistently failed to integrate the divided education system, which is based on the social classes. The top-level English-medium schools are associating their curriculum to English or American syllabuses and therefore upholding their standards. However, the Urdu-medium schooling system after decades of being famished of government attention and funds has crashed. The students of Urdu-medium system are not able to contend with the students of English-medium. Nevertheless, our finest intelligentsias until the

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[239] Abbasi, Kashif, “Government Teachers Expected To Do a Lot More Than Teach,” *Dawn*, November 21, 2014, *http://www.dawn. com/news/1145902*

[240]Max de Lotbinière, “Pakistan facing language 'crisis' in schools”, *The Guardian*, Dec 2010, *https://www.theguardian.com/education/2010/dec/07/pakistan-schools-language-crisis-lotbiniere*

[241] Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity, Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), p.75-6.

[242] John L. Esposito and Dalia Mogahed, *Who Speaks for Islam?* (Gallup Press, NY, 2007), p.71.

[243] Syed Manzar Abbas Zaidi, “The Process of Radicalization Contextualizing the Case of Pakistan”, Op.Cit. p.6.

'70s were from the government schools.[244] "… [T]he dysfunctional Pakistani educational system. A broken, unorganized collection of public, private and religious schools graduate few literate well-informed citizens able to independently assess what mullahs preach. Instead, Pakistani education tends to produce a mass of semi-literates more familiar with the basic tenets and doctrines of Islam than with the critical thinking skills essential for them to peacefully bring their country into the information age."[245]

Hence, education is suffering from exclusivity and division in Pakistani society, basically in three classifications i.e. upper-class English Medium private schools, lower-middle-class English-Urdu medium private schools, and the poorest class Urdu medium public schools and Madrasas. With the divided standard of education in relation to the social classes, the Pakistani society is inclined towards cementing preexisting demarcation. K.K. Aziz grieved for the repressed Urdu medium class sufferers as he stated. "Thus it has come to pass that the game of educating the child is being played with a reckless abandon which leads straight to disaster because the players, the umpires, the onlookers and the crowd outside the ground have neither the interest in improving the system, nor the knowledge of what is wrong with it, nor the ability to devise a better one, nor the courage to shout a word of warning—not even the strength to shout."[246]

By privileging Urdu as the language of instruction in non-elite schools, the government and bureaucracy ensured that its tight circle of elites, all schooled in English, would retain a monopoly over high-level governmental positions, allowing the governing elites to keep control over society at large. Despite the superficial imposition of Urdu medium instruction, Urdu remains a second-tier language. It is disparaged and held in contempt by elite society. Consequently, even a scholar highly proficient in his area of expertise, if not proficient in English is not well-regarded. This allows people with lesser professional proficiency but with the ability to speak English to displace more highly qualified professionals simply because they are not proficient in English.

"Research confirms that children learn best in their mother tongue as a prelude to and complement of bilingual and multilingual education.... research increasingly shows that children's ability to learn a second or additional languages (e.g., a lingua franca and an international language) does not suffer when their mother tongue is the primary language of instruction throughout primary school. Fluency and literacy in the mother tongue lay a cognitive and linguistic foundation for learning additional languages. When children receive formal instruction in their first language throughout primary school and then gradually transition to academic learning in the second language, they learn the second language quickly. If they continue to have opportunities to develop their first language skills in secondary school, they emerge as fully bilingual (or multilingual) learners. If, however, children are forced to switch abruptly or transition too soon from learning in their mother tongue to schooling in a second language, their first language acquisition may be attenuated or even lost. Even more importantly, their self-confidence as learners and their interest in what they are learning may decline, leading to lack of motivation, school failure, and early school leaving."[247]This is exactly what is

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[244] Imran Khan, *Pakistan A Personal History*, Op.Cit. p.351.

[245] Sam Robinson, Rousing Religion, Islamic Preaching on the Pakistan-Afghan Border, Op.Cit. p.42.

[246] K.K. Aziz, The Murder of History, A Critique of history textbooks used in Pakistan, Op.Cit. p.293.

[247] Jessica Ball, Enhancing Learning of Children from Diverse Language Backgrounds: Mother Tongue-Based Bilingual or Multilingual Education in the Early Years, University of Victoria, Analytical Review Commissioned by the

happening in Pakistan, especially in rural areas of the country. Therefore, an early beginning in the mother tongue would, in fact, not only better prepare the child to learn afterward Urdu, English, and other languages, but also decrease the rate of dropouts. "The 2015 report of the independent Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) finds that only 44 percent of third graders in rural schools (public and private) can read a sentence in Urdu."[248] An earlier generation among us did excellently with their English in spite of being first exposed to the language in middle school or Class VI. Besides, even today the reality in the majority of our schools, specifically in the rural areas, is that even though the materials may be in English or Urdu, the clarification is in the dialect, which demonstrates the comfort zone of the students along with the teachers. The debate on language in education also becomes tied up with the elite vs the rest syndrome. But, perhaps, the reality that the children of the elite are better at English has more to do with being able to afford competent teachers and experience the language at home and the proximate social circle instead of an initial introduction to English at school. All of which is not to say that the issue is easily solved considering our multi-cultural and multi-ethnic background. There may well be added expenses involved. But, that cannot be an acceptable rationale to ignore or deny it. In any case who knows what type of expenses we are incurring as a society by persevering with a language policy that weakens the potential of so many of our children?[249]

The British Council Report indicates, “English medium instruction from teachers with low English ability is likely to disadvantage children twice — first by preventing them from improving functional language ability and second by impeding their learning content”. There was a good deal of learning occurring when English was not the prescribed medium of instruction. However, an overlay of English, poorly taught and learned, can only make a bad state worse. The actual need remains teachers with a better understanding of the subjects they teach and of instructional practices.[250] Policymakers, along with parents, often believe that the earlier children are properly familiarized to English at school, the faster they will learn the language. About 70 percent of the parents interviewed for the CQE study held this view. But, this is not borne out when the teachers themselves are not skilled at English and the children are not likely to find any help at home to support their learning in the language. The emphasis on English at the very beginning of schooling suggests that the child is not motivated to develop a significant vocabulary in the first language that he or she has already learned before enrolling in school. The argument has often been made in the works on language learning that understanding the first language comfortably, in fact, helps in the learning of the second. It is certainly not an either-or proposition.[251]

UNESCO Education Sector, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris, 2011, p.6. *https://www.observatoireplurilinguisme.eu/images/Recherche/enhancing%20children%20unesco.pdf*

[248] Ahmad Ali, Nadia Naviwala, “Should we double the education budget, or seek 100pc literacy?”, *Dawn*, Jun 07, 2017 01:47pm, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1335342/should-we-double-the-education-budget-or-seek-100pc-literacy*

[249] Abbas Rashid, “Language and learning in difficult times”, Academy of Punjab in North America, APNA English Article, 25 February 2006, Source: *Daily Times*, *http://apnaorg.com/prose-content/english-articles/page-19/article-7/index.html*, Accessed 19 April, 2018.

[250] Ibid.

[251] Abbas Rashid, “Ease up on English… at least up to Grade-3”, The Express Tribune, February 26, 2014, *https://tribune.com.pk/story/676439/ease-up-on-english-at-least-up-to-grade-3/*

A) Inaccuracies in Content and Excessive Emphasis on the Memorization

The ability of younger kids is being limited because they are obligated to memorize difficult scientific terms without understanding them. For instance, Hoodbhoy lamented about the 9-10 year old child's sufferings as he stated, "torture is inflicted on a class 4 kid from Sindh, a non-native speaker of English, when confronted with difficult words (no explanations provided) like 'obesity', 'ulcer', 'characteristics', 'interpret', 'deficiency', 'osteoporosis', 'decomposers', 'ecoregion', 'translucent', 'trough', 'lukewarm', 'constriction', etc. In class 5, he will be haunted by monster words like 'monocotyledonous' and 'dicotyledonous'. Strewn across these unattractive books are hazy diagrams, hundreds of capitalization and spelling mistakes, plus countless grammatically incorrect sentences. More serious than the get-up or language is the frequently wrong or nonsensical content…every science subject is reduced to dull drudgery and rote memorization…. The class 9-10 physics book takes the cake. This book is so comprehensive, it says, that a student doesn't need another. A couple of pages later the reader is told that uttering just one word brought this universe into existence "kuch lakh sal pehlay" (around 100,000 years ago). This misses the correct age of the universe by a whopping 13 billion years — so it's wrong by more than one hundred thousand times."[252]

Similarly, an out-of-context impractical science of numerology is forced in Urdu. A.H.Nayyer cites, Class 6 Urdu of Punjab for 2013-14 has a dreadful essay on mathematics, which creates illogicality about mathematics rather than generating cognitive abilities. It is worth translating the piece of the lesson: "Take any number. Multiply it by 4 and add 2, and then multiply the sum by 5. Divide the product by 20, multiply the remainder by 9, and add 2 to the product. The answer will always be 92." This is acceptable and certainly inconceivable and amusing for children. The mystery disappears if the children are conveyed that the answer is 92 since the remainder, by formation, is always 10. The lesson then continues to articulate "If the art of numerology is used to find the number for Mohammad Sallallaho Alaihe wa Alehi wa Sallam, it comes to 92. Since the Holy Prophet's (PBUH) person is a blessing and source of guidance for all the worlds, therefore the name of everything and person revolves around the number associated with His pious name."[253]

B) Grammar Errors

The following are some of the grammar errors that are recurrent in most national curriculum textbooks.

"Serial. No.	Page	Line	Reference	Recommendation
			English **Grade 1** **Fifth Edition 2014** **Code No. STE-472** **Publisher: National Book Foundation Islamabad**	
1	71	11	UNIT 7 Things we do	Pick out three rhyming words.

[252] Pervaiz Hoodbhoy, "Burn These Books Please!", *Dawn*, December 12, 2015, https://www.dawn.com/news/1225815/burn-these-books-please

[253] A. H. Nayyar, A Missed Opportunity, Continuing Flaws in the New Curriculum and Textbooks After Reforms, op.cit. p.51-52, PDF File, http://eacpe.org/content/uploads/2014/05/A-Missed-Opportunity.pdf

			Pick out three rhyming words?	
2	71	13-14	There is one extra thing in the boy's room? Can you name it?	There is one extra thing in the boy's room. Can you name it?
3	89	5	UNIT 9 Sentences That is an elephant	That is an elephant.
4	97	6	What are these.	What are these?
5	99	11	UNIT 10 Cleanliness We Keep Our Street Clean	We keep our street clean.
			English Reader **For Grade III** **Code No. BP/A-4/45(O)** **Publisher: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board Peshawar**	
1	111	2	UNIT 11 Eid-ul-Fitr Muslim celebrate	Muslims celebrate
			General Knowledge Grade-I Code No. BP/G-O/45(O) Publisher: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board Peshawar	
1	22	8-9	Chapter 8 What would you like to be? Nasir is wants to be a professor in future.	Nasir wants to be a professor in the future.
2	25	5	Chapter 9 Yesterday and Today Nadia is, now, a lady doctor.	Nadia is a lady doctor now."[254]
			General Knowledge 2[255] Punjab Curriculum Textbook Board, Lahore	
	1	7-8	Chapter 1 The Blessings of Allah Almighty He gave us home to live in and bestowed us loving parents, brothers and sisters.	He blessed us with a home to live in and bestowed upon us loving parents, brothers, and sisters.
	5		Chapter 2 Holy Life of Hazrat Muhammad ﷺ He ﷺ sympathetic to the orphans, the	

[255]General Knowledge2, Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board, Lahore, 2015-16, *https://pctb.punjab.gov.pk/system/files/General%20Knowledge%202%20EM.pdf*

			poor, and the needy of the whole of the world.	He was sympathetic to the orphans, the poor, and the needy.
	12	7-8	Chapter 4 Fasting When Iftari is taken generally, Muslims invite each other at Iftari.	Generally, Muslims invite each other for Iftari.
			General Knowledge 3[256] Punjab Curriculum Textbook Board, Lahore	
	58	1-2	Chapter13 Respect and Regards for Others We are all issues of Hazrat Adam (ملی الاعلیہ).	We are all descendants of the prophet Adam.

[256] General Knowledge3, Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board, Lahore, 2015-16 *https://pctb.punjab.gov.pk/system/files/General%20Knowledge%203%20EM.pdf*

Chapter 2: Complexities in the Education Infrastructure

- **Education Budget is Still Not Adequate**
- **The Futility of U.S. and Foreign Aid**
- **Statistics of Teachers and their Disregarded Position**
- **The Lack of Competent Teachers, Excess of Corruption, and Teachers' Absenteeism**
- **Unproductive Bureaucracy**

Summary

Despite recent multiple increases in its education budget, Pakistan is still not spending enough. Comparisons will be made to Pakistan's military budget.

Teachers stand somewhere near the base of the pyramid of the education structure with regards to salary and number of professionals hired. They are not considered worthy to participate in policymaking, which affects multiple aspects of teaching. Their views are not considered in developing the curriculum, writing textbooks, designing evaluation systems or even putting into place professional support systems. They lack the inspiration, competences, or utensils to teach. Their pay is still too low to attract the best towards this profession.

Aid from the United States and other countries has failed to resolve the entrenched and complex problems of education in Pakistan. Aid has not been targeted to address the needed reformation of the national schools' curriculum. The five-year-long experience of the Kerry- Lugar- and Berman-sponsored Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act of 2009, demonstrates that it is challenging to translate dollars into educational goals in Pakistan, where development is mired in patronage and politics.[257]

Corruption has become a part of the education system. Hence, the question of how Pakistan is allocating its educational resources is as important as an examination of how money is being spent. The provincial education bureaucracy is obstinate and has developed perverse motivations over the passage of decades. Therefore, efforts to improve the curriculum are still unsuccessful. One of the outcomes of corruption is that 'ghost teachers' are common i.e. teachers, who never go to schools but are mostly present on paper.

Education Budget is Still Not Adequate

One of the lowest in the region, Pakistan's education budget reflects the government's low priority for education. This has been true for education since the formation of Pakistan, which has destabilized efforts to build quality in the public education system. According to Sir Michael Barber, "It is certainly striking that Pakistan has devoted a much smaller proportion of GDP to education than many

[257]Nadia Naviwala, "So much aid, so little education", *Dawn,* July 06, 2015, https://www.dawn.com/news/1192624

comparable countries. While the government's recent commitment to increase that proportion to 4 percent is welcome, the current level remains, unacceptably, below 2 percent and has not risen since the commitment was made. The pitiful truth is that the state fails to collect even a fraction of the tax revenue it should and then spends too little of the meager amount it does raise on educating its people. In short, the reality in over 60 years since independence falls far short of Jinnah's aspiration. Given then that the education system is very poor and that a major part of the explanation for that is a lack of political will over several decades."[258]

Predominantly, education has been considered a step-child. Since its inception, Pakistan confronted the existential threat from India. Therefore, military spending has always had a higher priority. Even today, the military has a tendency to keep its budget secret. The defense allocation does not provide a complete picture regarding how much the government is actually spending on the armed forces. According to some researchers, the military budget is seven times higher than the education budget in Pakistan.[259] Pakistan spends significantly less on education than is suggested by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in its advice on education. "Over the years, two international benchmarks of spending have been established. The first set is a target of spending 20 percent of total government budgets on all levels of education. The second widely accepted goal for education is to spend 6 percent of GNP on education."[260] Education is being ignored by the government from the national to the provincial and local levels. One consequence is that there are not enough government schools for all children. Even in Pakistan's major cities, many children cannot arrive at school on foot safely and in a reasonable amount of time. The condition is much worse in rural areas, where schools are even scanter, and it is unlikely that private schools will fill the gap.[261]

After 9/11 the policy of insufficient public allotment by the government in Pakistan for education was severely criticized by the international community. In reaction, the Pakistani government has lately multiplied the allotment for education in its budget, and several international organizations, like the European Commission and the World Bank, have provided funds for the reformation of the education sector.[262] To some this has indicated an improvement in the position of education relative to other components of the budget, such as the military. For example, Nadia Naviwala, an independent American researcher and freelance development journalist based in Islamabad, argues "Pakistan sets aside almost as much for education as it does for the military. The military budget for the fiscal year 2016 is $8.2 billion (860 billion rupees), which is close to the $7.5 billion (790 billion rupees), budgeted for education. The military budget represents 2.9 percent of Pakistan's GDP. The education budgets total 2.7 percent

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[258] Sir Michael Barber Co-chair, Pakistan Education Task Force 4 November 2010, Brookings Institution, Education Reform In Pakistan: This Time It's Going To Be Different, P.5. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/BarberPakistan_Education-Paper.pdf

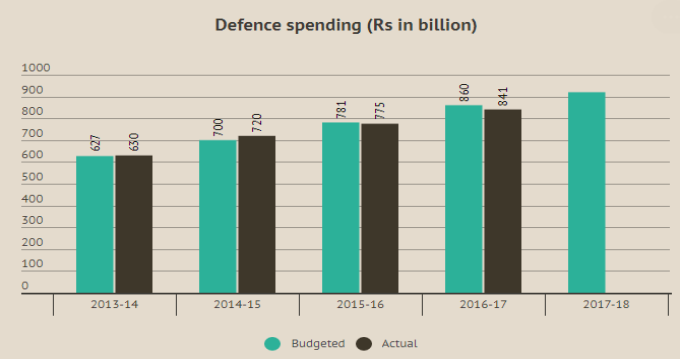
[259] *The Hidden Crisis: Armed conflict and education*, (Paris: UNESCO publications, 2011), p.147, PDF File, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001907/190743e.pdf.

[260] Development Finance International , *Trends in Government Expenditure for Public Education, 2011-3*, Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2015, Education for All 2000-2015: achievements and challenges, p.5, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000232476

[261] "Shall I Feed My Daughter, or Educate Her?" Barriers to Girls' Education in Pakistan, Human Rights Watch, Op.Cit.https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/11/12/shall-i-feed-my-daughter-or-educate-her/barriers-girls-education-pakistan

[262] Ali Riaz, Faithful Education Madrassahs in South Asia, Op.Cit. p.99.

of GDP."[263] However, this ignores the fact, that the defense budget does not include military pensions (Rs180bn), [264]the expenses of the nuclear program (estimated at $747 million by the Stimson Center), or military operations in FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas).[265] Moreover, Finance Minister Ishaq Dar while presenting the Federal Budget 2017-18 stated, "The Frontier Constabulary's jawans will also be given a fixed allowance of Rs 8,000 per month, the government said. The special allowance and the fixed allowance are both separate from the defense budget."[266] According to some researchers, the military budget is seven times higher than the education budget in Pakistan.[267] An additional Rs90bn-Rs100bn per annum has over the years been consumed by security operations under a separate allotment. It is suggested that the sum to be reserved for security and connected aspects be made 3percent of the Gross Divisible Pool, but the issue is yet being argued at the Council of Common Interests. Main purchases are also not contained within the defense budget.[268] More to the point, the actual value of the military has to be evaluated partly in terms of the possibilities being missed for expanding in education.[269]

" 

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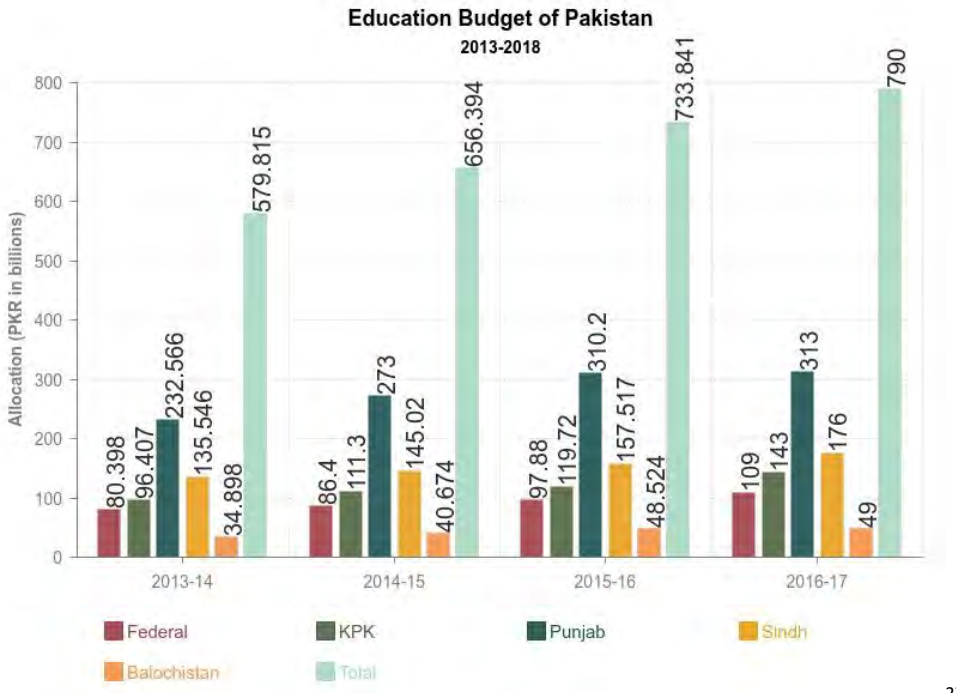
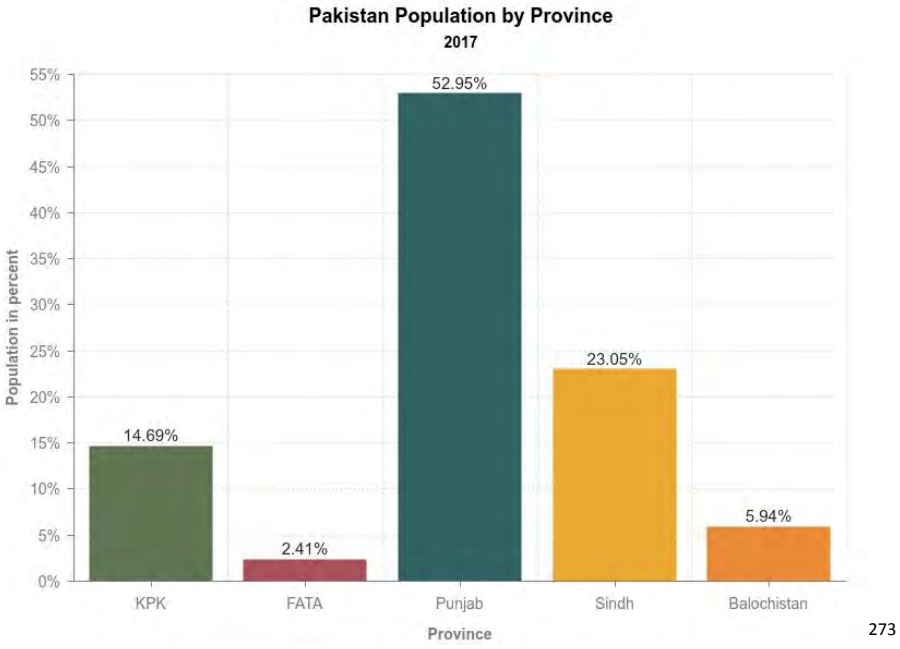
Pakistan's defense expenditure in 2019 will be around 7 percent higher than it was in the prior year, increasing to Rs920.2 billion, the government has announced in Friday's Budget 2017-18 speech.[271]

[263] Nadia Naviwala, Pakistan's Education Crisis: The Real Story, Op.Cit., p.7-8.
[264] "Defence Budget Set at Rs. 920.2 bn FY 2017-18", *Dawn,* May 2017, https://www.dawn.com/news/1335574
[265] Ahmad Ali, Nadia Naviwala, "Should we double the education budget, or seek 100pc literacy?", Jun 07, 2017 01:47pm, https://www.dawn.com/news/1335342/should-we-double-the-education-budget-or-seek-100pc-literacy
[266] Defence Budget Set at Rs. 920.2 bn FY 2017-18", *Dawn,* May 2017, https://www.dawn.com/news/1335574
[267] *The Hidden Crisis: Armed conflict and education*, (Paris: UNESCO publications, 2011), p.147, PDF File, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001907/190743e.pdf.
[268] "Budget 2017-18: Defence gets lowest hike in decades", *Dawn*, May 27, 2017, https://www.dawn.com/news/1335734/budget-2017-18-defence-gets-lowest-hike-in-decades
[269] The Hidden Crisis: Armed conflict and education, Op.Cit. p.148, PDF File, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001907/190743e.pdf.
[270] Defence Budget Set at Rs. 920.2 bn FY 2017-18", *Dawn,* May 2017, https://www.dawn.com/news/1335574
[271] Ibid.



[272]

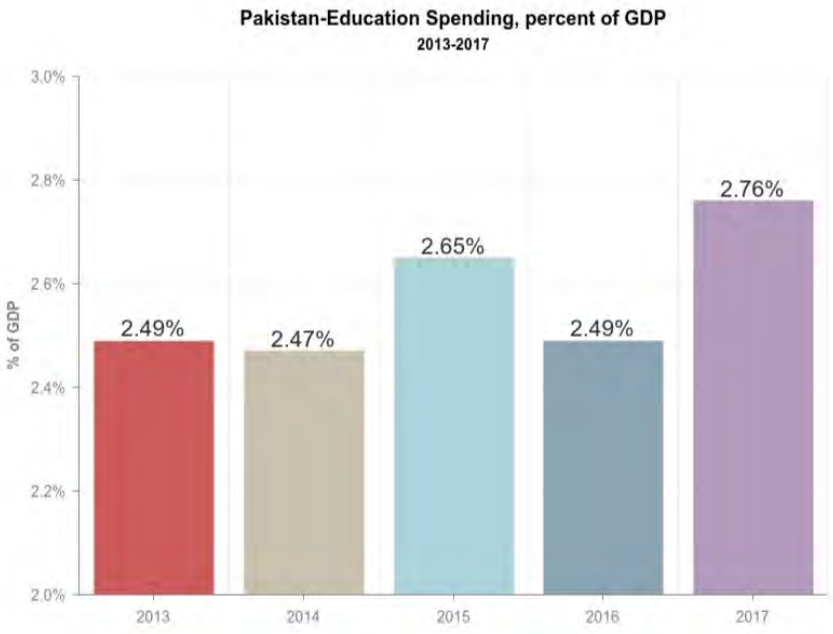


[273]

[272]Government Allocations for Education in Pakistan, Alif Ailaan, p.2, *https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/alifailaan/pages/1006/attachments/original/1474365126/Govt._Allocations_for_Edu_in_Pakistan.pdf?1474365126*

Naviwala, Nadia, and Ahmad Ali. "Should we double the education budget, or seek 100pc literacy?". *Dawn*, Jun 07, 2017 01:47 pm, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1335342*

[273] *http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/PAKISTAN%20TEHSIL%20WISE%20FOR%20WEB%20CENSUS_2017.pdf*



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According to the EFA Global Monitoring Report of UNESCO, through cutting 10% of military expenditure, and spending that money on education, Pakistan could have enrolled 3,600,000 extra children in primary schools.[275] In 2018, Pakistan's military ranked 17 out of 136 countries.[276] "With one of the world's largest out-of-school populations (7.3 million in 2008), some of the world's highest levels of gender inequality and a public education system widely viewed as being in a state of crisis... Just one-fifth of Pakistan's military budget would be sufficient to finance universal primary education. Of course, Pakistan's military budget reflects political decisions taken in the light of national security concerns. Yet increased investment in education, with attendant benefits for employment and social inclusion, would do a great deal to enhance Pakistan's long-term national security."[277]

Pakistan has more than doubled the size of its $3.5 billion (304 billion rupees) total education budget between fiscal years 2010 and 2016.[278] Since education devolved to the provinces in 2010, the bulk of spending on elementary and secondary schooling happens at the provincial level. A small amount is allocated at the federal level for higher education (universities) and schools in the capital city of Islamabad. Despite these increases, many experts consider that the source of the country's education challenge is underspending.

"According to a UNESCO situation analysis, rough estimates indicated that attaining the net primary enrollment rate of 100% by 2015/16 would have required, 'besides massive improvements in governance and implementation, a fund of PKR[Rs] 1,300 billion'. In the context of literacy, making 36

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[274] https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Pakistan/Education_spending/

[275] *The Hidden Crisis: Armed conflict and education*, Op.Cit., PDF File, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001907/190743e.pdf, p. 151.

[276] "2018 Pakistan Military Strength, Current military capabilities and available firepower for the nation of Pakistan", *Global Fire Power*, *The Strength in Numbers*, https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=pakistan#powerindex

[277] Ibid, p. 148.

[278] Nadia Naviwala, Pakistan's Education Crisis: The Real Story, Op.Cit., p.7

million people literate in the next five years would require PKR[Rs] 1,788 billion. The federal or the provincial governments' allocations to education have not matched these figures...This resource constraint is a major challenge which restricts improvement in education indicators."[279]

Education specialists and national activists have been pushing the government to earmark 4.0 percent of GDP to the education sector.[280] However, limited political commitment has translated into low levels of funding, according to the Alif Ailaan report: "Pakistan's politicians have not fulfilled their commitments to improve the system of education. Despite the government's pre-election promise to raise the share of the education allocation to 4% of the GDP over the next 5 years, Pakistan still spends a meager 2.68% of the GDP on education. Due to such low expenditure, Pakistan ranks among the bottom four countries in the world in terms of spending on education."[281] Pakistan spending 2.76 percentage of GDP in the fiscal year 2017 as compared to 2.49 percentage of GDP in the fiscal year 2016 is the lowest in the region of South Asia. It is heartbreaking that children of Pakistan are far behind every other country in the region. If Pakistan wants to stand among developed nations then it is necessary that the government allots an appropriate budget to ensure equal and quality access to education for all citizens of the country.[282]Even though India and Bangladesh have accomplished universal primary school enrollment, Pakistan struggles with a primary gross enrollment rate of 86 percent. Furthermore, contrasted to their counterparts in India and Bangladesh, only a small number of Pakistani students finish primary school (just 8 percent) and join secondary school.

Likewise, Pakistan is poles apart from attaining gender equity. Educational challenges for Pakistani women are critical.[283] "Pakistan's school system is in crisis, with a lack of government facilities creating "education deserts" for poor children, especially girls, according to a new report by Human Rights Watch. A third of girls across the country are not attending primary school, compared with 21% of boys. By the ninth grade, just 13% of girls are still in school, it said. In Balochistan, Pakistan's largest province, the picture is bleaker still: 81% of girls did not complete primary school in 2014/15, compared to 52% of boys."[284] Families that can get into a government school frequently criticize it as being overfull. An "upward bottleneck" exists as children, particularly girls, grow older. Secondary schools are in shorter supply than primary schools, and colleges are even more scarce, especially for girls. Schools are further

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[279] Haider Fancy and Jamila Razzaq, Accountability in Education in Pakistan, Country case study prepared for the 2017/8 Global Education Monitoring Report, *UNESCO*, 2017, P.4, *http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0025/002595/259549e.pdf*

[280] Riazul Haq, "Literacy rate in Pakistan slips by 2%", *The Express Tribune,* May 26, 2017, *https://tribune.com.pk/story/1419396/economic-survey-literacy-rate-pakistan-slips-2/*

[281] Alif Ailaan, "The State of Education in Pakistan", PDF File, *https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/alifailaan/pages/496/attachments/original/1473162927/The_State_of_Education_in_Pakistan.pdf?1473162927,* Accessed April 19 2018.

[282] Aqsa Khunshan, Budget 2018-19: Education neglected once again, *TechJuice,* Education, April,2018 *https://www.techjuice.pk/govt-announced-education-budget-for-fy-2018-19/*

[283] *Strengthening Education in the Muslim World, Country Profiles and Analysis*, PPC Issue Working Paper No. 1, Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination April 2004, p.44. PDF File, *https://s3.amazonaws.com/berkley-center/040401USAIDStrengtheningEducationMuslimWorld.pdf*.

[284] Karen MCVeigh, Pakistan's schools crisis has 'devastating impact on millions of girls', The Guardian, November 13, 2018, *https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/nov/13/pakistan-failing-to-provide-millions-of-girls-with-an-education-report-says*

expected to be gender segregated as children grow older, and there are fewer schools for girls than for boys. Many girls cannot continue their studies because once they complete the program at one school, they cannot get into the next grade level. Families are concerned about sending girls out alone on busy roads; the long distances a lot of girls have to travel to school intensifies hazards and worries. Lots of girls suffer sexual harassment coming to school, and police hardly show the willingness to help prevent harassment. Girls are sometimes reluctant to complain about harassment out of fear they will be held responsible, or that their parents will take them out of school. Girls and families also afraid of abduction, another fear aggravated by long travels to school. This fear is heightened when girls become teenaged and older are perceived as being at higher risk of being targeted in the sexual attack. When violence occurs in a school or in a locality, it has continuing consequences for girls' education. Families in various parts of the country have stated for years that occurrences of violence in their neighborhoods kept girls out of school.[285]

Pakistan's education crisis does not only depend on how much the country spends; how the money is spent is equally important. In Sindh, salaries overwhelm the budget for operating and sustaining schools. Children are expected to clean the school. The non-salary budget (NSB) funds the repairs of school amenities, essential equipment and furniture like desks, minor building maintenances and improvements, textbooks and teacher materials, electricity bills, and fuel costs for district education officials conducting oversight visits.[286] There was zero progress in the learning results of 5th and 6th graders, evaluated by Sindh's Standardized Assessment Test (SAT), between 2012 and 2014 despite a 27 percent rise in the salary budget.

In accordance with Alif Ailaan's report, "The condition of schools remains deplorable throughout Pakistan. Approximately 45% of government primary school buildings in Pakistan are in an 'unsatisfactory' condition. Half the schools in Pakistan function without electricity (49%). 4 out of every 10 schools have no drinking water (37%). 1 out of every 3 schools is missing a toilet (35%). 1 out of every 3 schools is without a boundary wall (33%)."[287] The classrooms are undecorated and in rural areas classes are mostly held outdoors because of the dearth of space. There is no heating system or air-conditioning, in the cities, the headmaster's office is insufficiently furnished. On the contrary, according to Naviwala's research report, approximately 40 percent of Pakistani students are enrolled in low-cost private schools. These schools cost between $3 and $25 per month. Their per-child cost is half that of the government schools, but they generate students who are two grades in advance of those in government schools.[288] These schools are privately owned by individuals, mostly situated in neighborhood houses. Therefore, the building maintenance conditions and the attendance rate of teachers is considerably better and their performance is better than government schools.

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[285] "Shall I Feed My Daughter, or Educate Her?" Barriers to Girls' Education in Pakistan, Human Rights Watch, Op.Cit. *https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/11/12/shall-i-feed-my-daughter-or-educate-her/barriers-girls-education-pakistan*

[286] Nadia Naviwala, Pakistan's Education Crisis: The Real Story, Op.cit. p.12.

[287] Alif Ailaan, "The State of Education in Pakistan", PDF File, *https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/alifailaan/pages/496/attachments/original/1473162927/The_State_of_Education_in_Pakistan.pdf?1473162927*

[288] Nadia Naviwala, *Pakistan's Education Crisis: The Real Story*, Op.CIt. p.1-2, *https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/pakistanseducationcrisistherealstory2.pdf*.

"Since 2010-11, salaries and other employee-related expenses in the education sector increased by 98 percent in the provinces – equivalent to 170 billion rupees. In contrast, their non-salary expenditure on education increased by 32 percent – equivalent to 7.6 billion rupees. In relative terms, non-salary expenditure represents the smallest proportion of education budget in comparison to salary and development."[289] The near doubling in salaries seems a significant increase, however, if compared with the general living expenses, it is still not good enough to attract proficient young people. The yearly costs for an average family of four per year are Rs 1,439,133.72[290]. "The average salary of a teacher in Pakistan is a meager Rs. 17,000 per month, with it being as low as Rs. 3000 for female teachers in rural areas."[291] The best brains of society will not be attracted to the teaching profession unless they are given better incentives. Abbas Rashid laments "over the last few years, government teachers' pay scales have been revised upwards but the pay is still too low to attract the best towards this profession. We are often reminded of how well off the government school teachers are, given the meager salaries for teachers in private schools."[292]The majority of teachers at private educational institutions get lower salaries than the minimum wages fixed by the government for the unskilled laborers. The teachers having postgraduate degrees are treated equally to unskilled laborers regarding salary because of the absence of proper law or rules and regulations to determine the salaries of teachers serving at private schools. Teachers' wages in elite or high-fee private schools are greater than even the wages of government teachers, but these elite schools are an insignificant fraction of the overall private school population. The majority of private schools in the country are low- to middle-fee schools. Teachers' salaries range between Rs2,000 to Rs15,000 per month across these schools, depending on their fee and location and salaries higher than Rs15,000 to Rs20,000 per month are quite rare. The minimum salary, for the labor market (which does not include teachers) for 40 hours of work per week, is Rs. 13,000 to Rs. 14,000 per month. The crucial question is why teachers in private schools are not covered under the legislation? For instance, in KPK, teachers have been removed from the category of 'workers' to which the minimum salary law is applicable. The provincial government of Punjab does not want to execute the law, even though there is legislation that covers teachers. Moreover, the teachers are not paid their salaries for the summer and winter vacations, although the schools receive full, 12-month fees from the students. If at least a minimum salary were to be imposed, it would force schools to charge more or shut down if the parents in their vicinity cannot afford the higher fees. This anticipated disruption is preventing governments from intervening in the market for teachers. This is absolutely a problem that needs meticulous consideration. But it should not be a reason for not allotting teachers decent salaries.[293]

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[289] Non Salary Budget Policy Brief, Institute of Social and Policy Sciences I-SAPS, Islamabad, Policy Brief No. 115, March 2015, P.2. *http://i-saps.org/upload/report_publications/docs/1459860008.pdf*

[290]Tansfer Wise Content Team, Cost of Living in Pakistan: Your Guide, *TansferWise*, *https://transferwise.com/gb/blog/cost-of-living-in-pakistan*

[291] Analysis of School Teacher's Pay in Pakistan, EDUGRID, 2018, *http://edugrid.pk/analysis-teachers-pay-pakistan/*

[292] Abbas Rashid, "The quest for good teachers", *The Express Tribune*, February 19, 2015, *https://tribune.com.pk/story/840463/the-quest-for-good-teachers/*

[293] Analysis of School Teacher's Pay in Pakistan, *EDUGRID*, 2018, *http://edugrid.pk/analysis-teachers-pay-pakistan/*

The low salaries which government schools offer appeal to those who fail to obtain other jobs and, as Tariq Rahman has stated, increasingly steer students towards dropping out of school. Hence the quality of education in most schools catering to the ordinary public is incredibly low.

The Futility of U.S. and Foreign Aid

The U.S. Agency for International Development (U.S. AID) had spent $400 million on education, emphasizing school construction, teacher training, and scholarships, in the five years from 2009 to 2014. This was under the auspices of the Kerry, Lugar, and Berman (KLB)-sponsored Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act of 2009. But this five-year extensive involvement demonstrates how hard it is to transform dollars into educational goals in a country where progress is caught up in patronage and politics. For politicians, education is related to patronage in two ways. Politicians can confer coveted teaching positions and can give contracts for building construction to their favored contractors. Foreign aid also tends to permit the recipient governments to shirk responsibilities. This seems to be an unintentional result of KLB and other donor funding to the Higher Education Commission (HEC). In 2009-2010, the government cut back the HEC`s budget by more than 20 percent per year, while directing universities reliant on HEC support to increase salaries by 20 percent. USAID plunged in and donated the HEC $90 million to cover salaries, scholarships, and build or restore buildings and laboratories at 41 universities.[294]Hence, U.S. aid was used to make up the shortfall caused by government cuts, but could not be used to make needed improvements in the education infrastructure.

Furthermore, it is also important to mention here that the agreed amount of US aid for five years did not materialize as Senator John Kerry confessed that the number was a Congressional wish instead of a bilateral promise. “Unfortunately, there is no such thing as a 5-year budget appropriation,” he acknowledges. “We can give authority to budget funds for multiple years, but the actual numbers are decided year-by-year. KLB only authorized $7.5 billion, but the actual amount appropriated could have been – and has been – lower than this figure.” KLB wound up providing considerably less than the expected $7.5 billion although the money flow has not yet been completely cut off. Since KLB ended in September 2014, an extra $1.3 billion was allocated.[295]

Many Americans consider that their aid supports Pakistan funding its way out of this challenge. U.S. aid for education in Pakistan, under a large program that made Pakistan the second-largest beneficiary of U.S. assistance in the world, averaged in value a meager 2% of Pakistan’s education budget per year between 2010 and 2014.[296] An insignificant amount of what Pakistan spends comes from overseas contributors. Department for International Development (DFID)’s major program in the world today is in Pakistan. Their financial plan for education in Pakistan is $150 million for the fiscal year 2016, which is equal to 2% of Pakistan’s education budget. USAID spending on elementary education in Pakistan in 2015 was $65 million, which is below one percent of the budget.[297]

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[294]Nadia Naviwala, “So much aid, so little education”, *Dawn,* July 6th, 2015, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1192624*

[295] “The (unspent) money trail”, *Dawn,* July 6th, 2015, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1192647/the-unspent-money-trail*

[296]Nadia Naviwala, Pakistan’s Education Crisis: The Real Story, Op.Cit., p.7.

[297] Ibid, p.9.

Above all, the US and foreign aid didn't target the main issues, like curing the curriculum's ills. As Pervez Hoodbhoy lamented, "The United States, along with the United Kingdom and the European Union, has recently poured hundreds of millions of dollars into the Pakistani educational system-but with minimal effect. USAID officials in Pakistan have shown little inclination or desire to engage with the government on the issue of eliminating jihad and militarism from school books."[298]

[299]

Statistics of Teachers and their Disregarded Position

Naviwala, claims that "There are more government teachers in Pakistan than active duty personnel in the Pakistani military, at 730,131 and 643,800 respectively. The total number of teachers in Pakistan (including private schools) also exceeds the total strength of the Pakistani military (including reservists and paramilitary), at 1,461,744 and 1,460,800 respectively…. Fifty-five percent of government employees in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) belong to the education department. Fifty-two percent of Baluchistan's government salaries go to education."[300] However, these huge numbers are not enough as Alif Ailaan report says that "there are not enough teachers, 29% of government primary schools in the country are single teacher schools. The average number of teachers in a primary government school is two."[301] As most of them belong to the lower classes; the number of schools and teachers are still not sufficient in many rural and urban regions of the country. Furthermore, according to the Pakistan Education Atlas 2016, about half of all government primary schools in Sindh and Baluchistan and 29

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[298] Pervez Hoodbhoy, "Can Pakistan Work? A Country in Search of Itself." *Foreign Affairs,* p. 129, Nov.-Dec. 2004. Web. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/60285/pervez-hoodbhoy/can-pakistan-work-a-country-insearch-of-itself?page=show>.

[299] Anser Mahmood, Problems of Education in Rural Areas of Pakistan, *ANSSERSSS*, Feb. 2015, *https://anssersss.wordpress.com/2015/02/04/2/*

[300] Nadia Naviwala, *Pakistan's Education Crisis: The Real Story*, Op.Cit. p.8, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/pakistanseducationcrisistherealstory2.pdf.

[301] Alif Ailaan, The State of Education in Pakistan, PDF File, *https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/alifailaan/pages/496/attachments/original/1473162927/The_State_of_Education_in_Pakistan.pdf?1473162927.* Accessed April 19 2018.

percent in Pakistan all together have only one teacher for each school. At present 36,408 primary schools in the country are operated by one teacher. The report stated that Islamabad had a 1:19 teacher-student ratio but informers in the Federal Directorate of Education stated from field observations that the condition was very different as in several schools there were only two to three teachers for over 100 students.[302] Hence, if we take this situation as an example, it indicates a dearth of proper management, which requires organizing the teachers' appointment to schools that need them most.

Akhtar Hassan Malik's empirical research identifies a lack of consultation with the head teachers, "The head teachers explain that the provincial government sanctions vacancies of academic and non-academic staff and different recruitment boards fill in these vacancies by hiring teachers to teach at various levels of education. In this modus operandi, the head teachers are not consulted at any stage. The head teachers have persistently been requesting that the provincial government increase the number of teaching and non-teaching vacancies to facilitate an effective teaching-learning transaction within the classrooms and ensure the smooth operation of the school. However, their requests have never been entertained."[303]

Teachers are not consulted in general throughout policymaking on practically anything that has relevance on student results. Accordingly, whether it is the development of curriculum, writing textbooks, designing evaluation systems or even putting into place professional support systems, it can be safely stated that the teacher will have merely a token contribution if any. His or her voice is heard only via the political clout exerted by teacher alliances. One of the results of the Basic Research and Implementation in Developing Educational Systems survey that was held about 25 years back was that the level of teachers' general education is more of an indicator of competence than their Bachelor-of-Education (B.Ed.) professional education for student outcomes. Therefore, one key intervention would be to increase standards of education in the institutions from which prospective teachers graduate. There are several exceptional teachers working within the system; their number and contribution need to increase through improved policies. What is also required is a strategic endeavor to improve the quality of teaching and have a well-defined accountability framework of obligations at the provincial government level; school level and community level can be useful.[304]

The Lack of Competent Teachers, Excess of Corruption, and Teachers' Absenteeism

A study shows that the majority of teachers in Punjab lack even the least ability in English. The British Council Tested 2,008 primary and middle school teachers in 18 districts of Punjab using the Aptis language testing system. They found that 56 percent of government school teachers registered scores in the lowest possible band in the Aptis test, meaning that "they lack even basic knowledge of English"; in

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[302]Kashif Abbasi, "29pc primary schools in Pakistan have only one teacher", *Dawn,* September 28, 2016, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1286554*

[303] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities", op.cit. p.59, PDF File, *https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf*

[304] Abbas Rashid, The quest for good teachers, *The Express Tribune*, February 19, 2015, *https://tribune.com.pk/story/840463/the-quest-for-good-teachers/*

private schools, the number was 62 percent. At present, Low Fee Private Schools (LFPS) have identified themselves as English medium schools in response to the common belief that quality education must use English as a medium of instruction. Private schooling has come to be likened to 'quality' in the prevalent opinions,[305]however; "quality" is restricted to learning English. When a reporter from the magazine Dawn interviewed teachers, he learned the following: "Many teachers admit they don't possess the skills to teach English, asserting that their qualifications and skills should be considered before introducing such policies. Mubarak Ali, who teaches at the Government Primary School Galla in Abbottabad, told Dawn that in KPK, students are forced to learn Mathematics and Science in Urdu from the third grade. "But, this year, without any prior planning or training of teachers, the government changed the medium of instruction for Science and Maths to English for grades four and five. We are not trained to teach these two subjects in English," he said."[306] Furthermore, "corruption is a major issue in the government school system and exists in several forms. One of the most pervasive is nepotism or bribery in the recruitment of teachers and principals. Some people simply purchase teaching positions, and others obtain their jobs through political connections. When people obtain teaching positions illicitly, they may not be qualified or motivated to teach, and they may not be expected to. Especially in rural areas, some schools sit empty because corruption has redirected the teacher's salary to someone who does not teach, according to education experts."[307]As stated by the UNESCO's Global Education Monitoring (GEM) report 2017-18, "Pakistan has monitored the attendance of over 210,000 education staff in 26,200 schools using biometrics: fingerprints and photos, coupled with Global Positioning System coordinates. As of February 2017, 40,000 absent teachers and 6,000 absconders (employed but long absent) have been disciplined."[308]

Akhtar Hassan Malik cited that in a sample of 125 schools surveyed with surprise visits, a quadrant of the schools was not open at the time of the visit. There were some circumstances in which the teacher was a family member of the landlord and, therefore, was secure from any type of punitive charge. The schools were occasionally utilized as a private building by the landlord. Only half had a bathroom and only a quarter of the schools had electricity. Only one teacher was present in 35 percent of the sample schools and there were no teachers present in 19 percent of the schools. The researchers categorized only 38 percent of the schools as "functional" consistent with least standards.[309] Sindh is Pakistan's highly patronage-wracked province where corruption is a part of all deals, from acquiring a teaching position to receiving an approval letter to form a parent-teacher committee. Rural regions suffer from

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[305] Abbas Rashid, "The quality mirage: Teaching English", *The Express Tribune*, October 14, 2013, https://tribune.com.pk/story/618065/the-quality-mirage-teaching-english/

[306] Abbasi, Kashif, "Government Teachers Expected To Do a Lot More Than Teach," *Dawn*, November 21, 2014, http://www.dawn. com/news/1145902

[307] "Shall I Feed My Daughter, or Educate Her?" Barriers to Girls' Education in Pakistan, Human Rights Watch, Op.Cit. https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/11/12/shall-i-feed-my-daughter-or-educate-her/barriers-girls-education-pakistan

[308] Accountability In Education: Meeting Our Commitments, Global Education Monitoring Report 2017/8, *UNESCO Publishing*, 2017, P.82, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000259338

[309] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities", op.cit. pp.21-2, PDF File, https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf.

feudalism, intense poverty, and thriving criminal gangs. A district official performing an unofficial survey of a sample of schools one morning in the Jacobabad district in Northern Sindh found 70 percent of schools to be closed.[310] The state of education in Sindh is appalling, as indicated by a recent report issued by the Alif Ailaan. In accordance with the record of education scores, Karachi West scored 14th out of 29 districts in the province. Sindh, while leaving only the Federally Administered Tribal Areas behind, ranked at seventh in the educational scores for provinces. As stated by the most recent data from 2016-17, Academy of Educational Planning and Management, the total number of primary schools in Sindh have dropped from 44,522 as stated by the data from 2012-13, to 38,132.[311]

This is despite the fact that Sindh is experiencing a swift population boom —the consequence of high fertility rates plus a reduction in mortality rates. In the past two decades, the population grew by more than 17 million from 30,440,000 in 1998[312] to 47,886,051 in 2017.[313] According to the 2017 census, 42.76 percent of Sindh's population is younger than 15 years.[314] "In rural areas, there are a large number of primary schools which are being used either as 'autaqs' or cattle pens for the last many years by sardars, waderas, and the land mafia. These people never want the children of a common man to get an education as it might make them vulnerable. They feel that if a poor man gets an education, he would know his rights and be able to defy the feudal lords."[315] The feudalistic political culture is one of the biggest hindrances to the growth of education in the country. Many times the sardars, waderas, and land mafia not only use the empty school buildings but also force teachers not to teach, especially to girls. "There are at least 8,252 non-functional and ghost schools in Pakistan, out of which 6,164 are in Sindh alone."[316]

[310] Nadia Naviwala, *Pakistan's Education Crisis: The Real Story,* Op.Cit. P.20, PDF File, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/pakistanseducationcrisistherealstory2.pdf.

[311] "I failed to reform the provincial education sector, says Sindh education minister", *Dawn*, December 27, 2017, https://www.dawn.com/news/1379142/i-failed-to-reform-the-provincial-education-sector-says-sindh-education-minister

[312] http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/other/pocket_book2006/2.pdf

[313] http://www.statistics.gov.pk/assets/publications/Population_Results.pdf

[314] http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files//tables/POPULATION%20BY%20SELECTIVE%20AGE%20GROUPS.pdf

[315] Anser Mahmood, Problems of Education in Rural Areas of Pakistan, *ANSSERSSS*, Feb. 2015, https://anssersss.wordpress.com/2015/02/04/2/

[316] *Pakistan Factsheet, The status of Education in Pakistan*, Alif Ailaan, July 2016, PDF File, https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/alifailaan/pages/496/attachments/original/1473162927/The_State_of_Education_in_Pakistan.pdf?1473162927

Ghotki: Government fails to take action as girls primary school turns into a police station[317]

A ghost school in Shikarpur (Sind)

A beneficiary of the Sind Education department

[318]

Furthermore, the remarkable level of corruption was also shown when, last year, Sindh government asked its teachers to go to biometric verification centers to corroborate their employment and submit employment files for digitization; some teachers came for verification from as far as Dubai. Others reacted with violence. In Larkana, a Pakistan People's Party (PPP) stronghold, teachers demolished all the computers and servers in the center. The system had to be restored and re-started in Karachi. Education Secretary Fazlullah Pechuho has said that 40 percent of schools in his province are closed and 40 percent of teachers are *ghosts* i.e. teachers, who in reality never go to schools but on paper, are indicated as mostly present. There are 144,000 teachers in Sindh. Pechuho's estimation would put ghost teachers at 60,000. As one analyst described the situation, "The biggest hindrance to reform is the PPP itself. Teachers in Sindh are not really teachers, they are political workers. For a member of the Provincial Assembly (MPA), it's important that his workers get paid. If they get fired, the MPA's political future might be at stake." Attempts to dismiss teachers are frequently reversed by the chief minister who is under pressure from the MPAs. Teachers also have protection from the courts. As stated by Umbreen Arif, the World Bank officer in charge of Sindh and Balochistan: "Teachers are rarely dismissed

[317] Ghotki: Govt fails to take action as girls primary school turns into police station, *Dunya News*, June, 2016, *http://dunyanews.tv/en/Pakistan/340742-Ghotki-Govt-fails-to-take-action-as-girls-primary*

[318] *http://eacpe.org/content/uploads/2014/02/How-education-fuels-religious-terrorism.pdf*

from service. There is a Supreme Court ruling that salaries should not be stopped till disciplinary proceedings are complete because the family of the employee should not suffer. District education officials have told me that they rarely stop the salary of an absentee teacher because of the ruling."[319]

"In government schools, parents and students complained of teachers not showing up, overcrowding, and poor facilities. At private schools, particularly low-cost private schools, concerns were related to teachers being badly educated and unqualified, and the instruction being patchy and unregulated. Teachers in both government and private schools pressure parents to pay for out-of-school tutoring as an additional expense. In both government and private schools, use of corporal punishment and abusive behavior by teachers was widely reported."[320]

Temporary teacher training programs can worsen the situation because teachers are often paid to join training during the school day. As per Abbas Rashid, Executive Director at the Society for the Advancement of Education in Lahore, the need is to make sure that government teachers are being hired on merit instead of patronage and on a contractual basis so they can be fired if they do not come to their classes.[321] Private schools claim lower teacher absenteeism than public schools, which reduces wastage and improves time actually spent studying. They also utilize their reward structures successfully to recompense worthier teachers and penalize those who don't perform competently.[322]

Teachers' Training Programs

The teaching profession, generally, does not draw the best talent in the country. The disinclination to enter into the teaching profession at the primary and secondary levels is because of comparatively low salaries, unpleasant working environment, and the high (approximately 1:40 primary and 1:36 secondary) teacher-student ratio. There were 87 elementary teacher-training institutions in the early 1990s that were offering a one-year program for the Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC) or the Certificate of Teaching (CT) for secondary school teachers. While the CT course requires 12 years i.e. a FA/FSC certificate, the PTC course needs 10 years of education for admission to it. In addition, the Allama Iqbal Open University has distance education courses for PTC and CT programs.

There are three types of programs for teachers' training. The first is a one-year primary school teacher-training program in key subjects, pedagogy, and child psychology. It is necessary for secondary school teachers to join either teachers' training colleges or a university department of education. They have the options of the Bachelor of Education diploma, a one-year program, or the Bachelor of Education degree, a three-year program. The admission criteria for these programs are either a bachelor's or master's

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[319] Nadia Naviwala, "Sindh battles teachers", *Dawn*, July 12, 2016, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1270284/sindh-battles-teachers*

[320] "Shall I Feed My Daughter, or Educate Her?" Barriers to Girls' Education in Pakistan, Human Rights Watch, Op.Cit. *https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/11/12/shall-i-feed-my-daughter-or-educate-her/barriers-girls-education-pakistan*

[321] Nadia Naviwala, "So much aid, so little education", *Dawn,* July 6th, 2015, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1192624*

[322] Tahir Andrabi, Jishnu Das, C. Christine Fair, and Asim Ijaz Khwaja, "The Madrasa Myth, Knowledge is power: The reality of Pakistan's private schools is far from the hysterical image of Madrasas. And how private schooling can save Pakistan's next generation", *Foreign Policy*, June 1, 2009, 12:00 AM, *http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/06/01/the-madrasa-myth/*

degree in any discipline from any university. The specialists and academic administrators are produced in the departments of education in the universities via masters and the doctorate level degrees in education. In addition, there are a number of in-service training programs for "untrained" teachers. The school principals nominate teachers for these programs, which are approved by the district officer. They usually get a full salary for the duration of the in-service training.[323]

Moreover, disabled children are ignored overall in the country."Our education system does not have adequate provision for accommodating a disability. It is estimated that of the 25 million out of school children, almost 1.4m are disabled. These figures are in line with global statistics where the percentage of out of school children with disabilities is higher than those with no disability."[324] Special education has been overlooked, as there are only a small number of facilities in Pakistan in this regard. The University of Karachi, the National Institute for the Handicapped at the University of Islamabad (NIHUS), and the Allama Iqbal Open University were the first to launch courses leading to a master's degree in special education. Special education attracted a national focus when the office of Director-General of Special Education within the Ministry of Health, Social Welfare, and Special Education was established in 1985. In 1989, NIHUS opened 45 centers for special education with a combined enrollment of 3,500. Furthermore, a National Training Center for the Disabled and a national Mobility and Independence Training Center for special education teachers were established in Islamabad. The majority of these projects were accomplished with the support of funds, overseas training, and technical guidance from World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and United Nations Development Program (UNDP).[325]

Teachers' Teaching Excellence

Teacher‘s excellence is ascertained by their professional competencies which are inclusive of knowledge, understanding, abilities, and mindsets/he brings to the teaching profession. It is generally recognized that the quality or competence of the teacher is determined essentially by the quality of initial and -in-service education the teachers are given. The National Education Policy 2009 hints at a direct connection between the worsening quality of education and outmoded pre-service structure (i.e. the regular education before teacher training) and inadequate in-service training system. Teacher education, thus, as the most important part of the education system, has been unsuccessful at countering the swiftly varying socio-economic realities in Pakistan and problems concerned the progress

[323] Faizan A. Khan, et al. “Pakistan - Teaching Profession.” Practical, Sternberg, Creative, and Students - StateUniversity.com, education.stateuniversity.com/pages/1149/Pakistan-TEACHING-PROFESSION.html, *http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/1149/Pakistan-TEACHING-PROFESSION.html*

[324] Maryam Sarim, Disability — dividing lines, The Express Tribune, April 15 2018, *https://tribune.com.pk/story/1685683/6-disability-dividing-lines/*

[325] Faizan A. Khan, et al. “Pakistan - Teaching Profession.” Practical, Sternberg, Creative, and Students - StateUniversity.com, education.stateuniversity.com/pages/1149/Pakistan-TEACHING-PROFESSION.html, *http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/1149/Pakistan-TEACHING-PROFESSION.html*

of the quality of the education system.[326] "The government has two evaluation and oversight systems that should, in theory, incentivise teacher effort; in practice, they face substantial problems and are ineffective. First, teachers are evaluated annually via the Performance Evaluation Report (PER) that feeds into promotion decisions. However, the PER is not teacher-specific, but general to the civil service, and accordingly does not properly measure aspects of teaching. Additionally, PERs are carried out by the headteacher, who – in Pakistani society – is hesitant to criticize colleagues. As a result, all teachers generally receive the same PER score, rendering scores meaningless. Second, a school inspection system exists, but inspections do not occur regularly and there is no guidance on how often or what inspectors should inspect, and how they should report findings."[327]

According to the Unesco's Global Education Monitoring (GEM) report 2017-18, 'Accountability In Education: Meeting Our Commitments', "Education policies, management, communities, students and parents affect teachers' performance. Attempts to reduce absenteeism only by punishing teachers, for example, are unlikely to be effective if some causes are systemic. Successful accountability approaches need to address issues arising from conflicting responsibilities and ensure that teachers get adequate time and compensation for work outside of instruction. The work of teachers and those holding them to account requires specific skills and knowledge bases. Educators participating in teacher evaluation should be trained to identify good teaching practices based on a shared, jointly developed understanding of good teaching. Support for teachers needs to be provided through timely, continual feedback that has direct utility for their instruction, with evaluation outcomes linked to necessary professional development."[328]

The above mentioned Unesco's Global Education Monitoring (GEM) report 2017-18 states that "Given the challenges of evaluating teachers' primary responsibility of high-quality instruction, most systems default to holding them accountable for the most easily quantified measures, such as absenteeism and student performance. However, even attendance and, to a much greater extent, student performance depends on others."[329]There are also genuine reasons for the high absenteeism rate among government teachers in addition to weak accountability. Teachers who reside in areas remote from school are absent more, particularly female teachers who do not have private transport. The government also frequently assigns teachers to non-teaching duties, such as serving in anti-polio and anti-dengue drives, elections, and managing government exams and surveys. A research account by Alif Ailaan and Society for the Advancement of Education (SAHE) evaluates that government teachers devote a quarter of the

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[326] Takbir Ali, Understanding how Practices of Teacher Education in Pakistan Compare with the Popular Theories and Narrative of Reforms of Teacher Education in International Context, Aga Khan University-Institute for Educational Development, July 2011, *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences,* 1(8), 208-222, P. 209, https://ecommons.aku.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1080&context=pakistan_ied_pdck

[327] Mechanisms for increasing the accountability of teachers and schools in rural Pakistan to improve learning outcomes, International Growth Center (IGC), Oct, 2017, https://www.theigc.org/project/mechanisms-for-increasing-the-accountability-of-teachers-and-schools-in-rural-pakistan-to-improve-learning-outcomes/

[328]Accountability In Education: Meeting Our Commitments, Global Education Monitoring Report 2017/8, *UNESCO Publishing*, Op.Cit. P.83, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000259338

[329] Accountability In Education: Meeting Our Commitments, Global Education Monitoring Report 2017/8, *UNESCO Publishing*, Op.Cit. P.83 https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000259338

academic year to non-teaching undertakings.[330] Salar Khattak, a member of a teachers' alliance in KP, mentions that teachers do not have the inspiration, competences, or utensils to teach: "You can use a stick and threaten a teacher to show up. He'll go on time and show up. But how do you get the teacher to deliver to the student? In Pakistan, when you can't become anything, you become a teacher. And if you can't become a teacher, you become a maulana (priest)."[331]

The criteria for teacher quality have not been prioritized in the execution of policy guiding principles. Nationwide institutions and operationalization processes are not systematized. Support subsidy from DFID, Punjab (Programme Monitoring and Implementation Unit-PMIU) and KPK (Independent Monitoring Unit-IMU) under the education department, have started monitoring data compilation mechanisms for controlling predominantly teachers' absenteeism. Despite the fact that absenteeism amongst teachers has decreased considerably in Punjab, monitoring mechanisms do not deal with the issues of untrained teachers, deficient and immaterial teacher education courses, deficient operational standards for professional performance and professional development, insufficient service circumstances, and an obvious lack of motivation amongst teachers. The gaps in teacher training and management influence not only the teaching profession but also have critical implications for the quality of the entire education system. In 2016, the Government of Punjab started LND (Literacy and Numeracy Drive) which gathers information on student learning for Grade 3 students and is used to structure curriculum and determine the need for teachers' professional training. However, it will take time and effort to generate and analyze sufficient data for connecting student learning outcomes data with teacher development needs; and then generating programs for fulfilling these needs. In the present context, teachers are only required to be present in the government schools. To meet accountability standards in performance they need backing in terms of: •High-quality teacher preparation programs, • Continuous training, ability building and periodical assessment, • Effectiveness and quality benchmarking, • Teacher professional networks and forums.[332]

The teachers, at least in boys' schools, usually carry canes and corporal punishment is common. That is another reason why children tend to drop out of school.[333] In 2005, the government released an instruction prohibiting corporal punishment and raised a billboard conveying the official catchphrase "mar nahin pyar" (compassion not beating) at the main entrance of government schools. However, that has not stopped the caning. Government school teachers defended their acts of violence against students by misconstruing selective quotations of the Quranic verses related to reward and chastisement. Sometimes, parental support also fortified teachers to strike and slap students. Some parents professed that an iron hand strategy was necessary to maintain children's behavior on the "right

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[330] Nadia Naviwala, *Pakistan's Education Crisis: The Real Story,* Op.Cit. P.11, PDF File, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/pakistanseducationcrisistherealstory2.pdf

[331] Nadia Naviwala, *Pakistan's Education Crisis: The Real Story,* Op.Cit. P.15, PDF File, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/pakistanseducationcrisistherealstory2.pdf

[332] Haider Fancy and Jamila Razzaq, Accountability in Education in Pakistan, Country case study prepared for the 2017/8 Global Education Monitoring Report, *UNESCO*, P.9, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0025/002595/259549e.pdf

[333] Tariq Rahman, *Denizens of Alien Worlds, A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Op.cit. p.43, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/271715758_Denizens_of_Alien_World_A_Study_of_Education_Inequality_and_Polarization_in_Pakistan

path" and also increase their academic grades. A number of the pro-caning teachers related the prohibiting of corporal punishment to some plot set forth by the government in connivance with foreign influences to ruin the nation's youth. Their accounts emphasize that "the government has tied up the hands of its teachers," that "we are not even allowed to touch them now," and that "the students are now free to do whatever they want."[334]

Unproductive Bureaucracy

Ishrat Husain, governor of the State Bank of Pakistan, in the conference's (in 2005 at Wilson Center hosted by the Asia Program, on the crisis in Pakistan's education system) opening address stated, "Unfortunately, Pakistan continues to lag behind its neighbors in providing quality education for its youth. Net primary-age enrollment rates in Pakistan are 50 percent; in Bangladesh, 75 percent; in India, 77 percent; and in Sri Lanka, 100 percent..... In the conference's concluding session, Shahid Javed Burki sought to summarize the day's discussions, identify areas of consensus, and offer suggestions for the way forward. Pakistan's real problem, he declared, is that it is a "dysfunctional state" whose "cynical politicians" have produced a "dysfunctional education system," which in turn churns out large numbers of unemployable males whose bleak economic prospects make them prime targets for purveyors of extremism. "[335] This conference occurred more than a decade ago but not much has changed.

Western officials have a tendency to accuse Madrasas of being feeders to militant factions, however, according to Pakistani education specialists, the public schools are the heart of the problem. Highest government bureaucrats have little motivation to modify that. Even though the great mass of Pakistanis has to pick between the public schools or Madrasas for their children, Pakistan's affluent can send their children to private schools, many of which are believed world-class.[336] The elites have nothing to worry as their kids are getting an outstanding education. It seems like government bureaucrats ensured that their tight circle of elites, all schooled in world-class private schools, would retain a monopoly over high-level governmental positions, allowing the governing elites to keep control over society at large. "Javed Ashraf Qazi, who served as education minister under President Pervez Musharraf from 2004 to '07, blames politicians for making education a low priority. Qazi calls the education bureaucracy "extremely corrupt and extremely useless." In addition, Qazi admits that because most of Pakistan's ruling elite send their own children to private schools, the health of the country's public education system is rarely a personal problem for government officials."[337] "Education system in Pakistan is not free from external and internal influences. Externally the system has been made hostage to political interference and internally it is plagued by the bureaucratic manipulations. There are greater favoritism and nepotism in

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[334] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities", op.cit. pp.78-9 PDF File, https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf

[335] No Child Left Behind? The Crisis in Pakistan's Education System, 15th April, 2005, *https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/no-child-left-behind-the-crisis-pakistans-education-system*

[336] Griff Witte, "Poor schooling slows anti-terrorism effort in Pakistan", *The Washington Post,* Sunday, January 17, 2010, *http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/01/16/AR2010011602660.html*

[337] Bilal Qureshi, "Pakistani School System Highlights Wealth Gap", *NPR News* February 25, 2008, 6:00 AM ET, *http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=19333953*

matters of transfers, appointments, and promotions. Due to this, the basic infrastructure of the education system in Pakistan has affected... There is a weak system of check and balances and accountability which has encouraged many criminal elements to misappropriate funds, use of authority illegally and giving unnecessary favors in the allocation of funds, transfers, promotions, and decision making."[338] Education policies are evaluated often by the government but the results remain the same: The illiteracy rate remains constant if not increasing in Pakistan.

Literacy programs and schemes for decreasing illiteracy like “Nai Roshni School”(New light school) or “Parha Likha Punjab” (Literate Punjab) have failed to make any difference.[339]The "Nai Roshni School" implemented in 1986-90, was a non-formal education plan that offered a reduced course of formal primary education. Nai Roshni schools were to be operated in the available school buildings in evenings and were to be launched in every constituency. It was planned for children ages 10 to 14 who never had been to school or left school for various reasons. The initial program was to manage a two-year course under the Federal Ministry of Planning and Development in nine schools in nine districts. Although the program was designed by the Federal Ministry of Education, the actual execution was left to the provinces, and the provincial governments brought up myriad concerns. Some of the foremost concerns were regarding the curriculum, which was not harmonizing regional and provincial values and cultures. Employment decisions for teachers were politically motivated. The program suffered from an ineffective establishment, low-quality education, political patronage, and incompetent teachers. Moreover, lack of political commitment to literacy or education was another major reason for the failure of literacy plans that resulted in the Nai Roshni School plan being scrapped by former prime minister Benazir Bhutto´s government.[340]

Parha Likha Punjab was the government of Punjab's effort to surmount the obstacles which primary school children confront and in the end lead them to drop out of school. This program aspired to liberate the region from its substandard education through a policy of free primary education, and dissemination of free school books. It was reported in September 2004 that 1.8 million children were enrolled in government schools under the Parha Likha Punjab Scheme. The free books and primary education did not have similar standards to the private sector education system, which even now continues to be far better than government schools. The resources and administration given by the federal government to the locals were poorly managed. Transparency International in 2013 concluded that there was the theft of development funds allocated by the government, thousands of ghost schools that existed only on paper, bribes are taken to provide classified material to applicants, poor or lesser consumption of allotted funds, and apathy to change on the part of the education ministry. Ineffective screening methods let ghost schools continue, particularly in remote areas of Pakistan.[341]

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[338] Iqbal Ahmad , Kahil ur Rehman , Asghar Ali , Itbar Khan , Fazal Akber Khan, Critical Analysis of the Problems of Education in Pakistan: Possible Solutions, International Journal of Evaluation and Research in Education (IJERE), Vol.3, No.2, June 2014, P. 82, *https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1091681.pdf*

[339] Qurat Ulain Khan, Education System of Pkistan, Editor's Mail, *Pakistan Today*, Feb.2017, *https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2015/02/17/education-system-of-pakistan/*

[340] Kaiser Bengali, History of Educational Policy Making and Planning in Pakistan, Working Paper Series # 40 1999, Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad, Pakistan, P.17, *https://www.sdpi.org/publications/files/W40-History%20of%20Educational%20Policy%20Making.pdf*

[341] Hira Nisar Khan, Analysis of a Public Expendature Program in Pakistan: Parha Likha Punjab, *Hira Nisar Khan*, January 19, 2014, *https://hiranisarkhanhnk.wordpress.com/2014/01/*

The principal means to address the education crisis—the *provincial education bureaucracy*—is awkward and has evolved to answer to perverse motivations over the passage of decades. For instance, once Pervaiz Hoodbhoy's newspaper articles criticizing the national schools' curriculum caught the attention of the Sindh Secretary of Education, Hoodbhoy was invited to be part of the Sindh government's education advisory board. A Karachi-based philanthropist offered to underwrite expenses needed for a massive revamp of textbook development. The first meeting was duly held, and then subsequent ones. Unfortunately, the committee's secretary made sure nothing would really move. Many promises were made but none were kept, critical issues were left unaddressed, and endless bureaucratic hurdles were devised. One year later Hoodbhoy saw that the efforts —including those of a US-based Pakistani academic —had been neatly sabotaged.[342] "The education minister is trying to stop nepotism and corruption to the extent that he can but it's not much," says Faisal Bari, "Underneath him, there is a huge bureaucracy that has been doing things a certain way for decades." He adds that while Punjab and KP have had some success in cleaning up teacher recruitment, by making it merit- and test-based, stopping nepotism and corruption in the promotion, posting, and transfer of teachers will be harder."[343]

Bureaucratic silos are embedded within the government departments of education; planning and finance also create difficulties in co-creating one policy document. There is a lack of trust among the partakers from the public sector and non-government organizations. The power dynamics among various players also require careful steering, particularly throughout discussions on the responsibility and accountability for evenhanded education services in various sub-regions and yearly target settings. These power dynamics interplay within the Department of Education (DoE), Planning and Development (PnD) and Department of Finance (DoF), a which assume the part of superseding and vetoing proposed plans and goals. Each department shows a territorialism within its sphere of influence that makes open communication difficult and committing to any action challenging. In general, problems are normal in setting goals, determining whether there could be a reliable implementation strategy for those goals, and then determining how best to allot funds for these goals.[344]

The level of the problem is excessively huge for one set of leaders to resolve in one term of office. As per Atif Khan, KP's Minister for Education: "You've destroyed schools over seventy years and you want me to fix them in three years --- if there were 5 or 10 or 100 or 1000 schools, I could probably fix it in six months or a year. But there are 30,000 schools. The transformation will happen over five to ten years."

In the commercial hub of Karachi, philanthropy and management expertise run high. Consequently, citizens of Karachi have been taking control of government infrastructure and privately financing free services for the poor, including government schools. Typically, the organization disburses funds for rehabilitation, management, operations, and even services of government institutions.[345] We have NGOs who have concerns for poor Pakistani children. They are rebuilding and reforming government schools.

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[342] Pervez Hoodbhoy, "Promoting anti-science via textbooks", *Dawn*, December 03, 2016, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1300118*

[343] Nadia Naviwala, Is our education system 'too broken' for reforms?, *Dawn*, July, 2016, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1270320*

[344] Haider Fancy and Jamila Razzaq, Accountability in Education in Pakistan, Country case study prepared for the 2017/8 Global Education Monitoring Report, *UNESCO*, P.13, *http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0025/002595/259549e.pdf*

[345] Nadia Naviwala, *Pakistan's Education Crisis: The Real Story,* Op.Cit. P.29, PDF File, *https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/pakistanseducationcrisistherealstory2.pdf*.

For example, “Zindagi trust gained its popularity not due to providing free education but paying poverty-stricken children Rp20 each day for coming and attending classes. This not only proves to be a great incentive for these children but also discourages child labor which their parents are forced to impose on their children.”[346]

“In a recent dialog on education reform in Pakistan, organized by the Open Society Foundation (OSF), Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives (IDEAS) and South Asia Initiative (SAI) of Harvard University at Harvard, where 30 odd politicians, bureaucrats, journalists, academics, and representatives of donors got together to discuss issues in education reform in Pakistan, a number of politicians mentioned that there was almost no pressure on them from their constituents to improve the performance of public sector schools in their constituencies. These were politicians representing urban as well as rural constituencies — and all of them said that while they did get some demand for more schools, especially for girls, but most of the demands relating to education were about teacher transfers and not about the quality of education or even access.”[347]. However, the burgeoning of private schools indicates that the public is not *uninterested* – the requirement for quality education is high.[348]" In spite of the gravity of the limitations, experts agree that supply-side factors are decisive in the case of Pakistan, not demand-side factors. Low education participation in Pakistan is primarily due to the limited supply of public schooling, not to low demand for education.[349]Studies such as Rebecca Winthrop and Corinne Graff's research[350]note that demand for quality education is high even amongst poorer factions, and that the causes for not enrolling children are typically rooted in the awareness that the accessible schools have poor teachers and poor quality, especially those in the public education sector.[351]

Then again, the insincere attitude of politicians is revealed by their denying of the demand for quality education. This becomes evident by the following high statistics of non-elite private schools’ students. “A trend is seen with more than a third of all Pakistani children being enrolled in private schools where

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[346] *Education*, IFC Advisory Service in the Middle East and North Africa, International Finance Corporation, World Bank Group, State Bank of Pakistan, 2011, p.5, PDF File, *http://www.sbp.org.pk/departments/ihfd/Sub-Segment%20Booklets/Education.pdf*.

[347] Dr. Faisal Bari, “Public demand for education reform”, *Daily Times*, OP-ED, July 26, 2011, *https://dailytimes.com.pk/111252/public-demand-for-education-reform/*

[348] Nadia Naviwala, *Pakistan’s Education Crisis: The Real Story*, Op.Clt. p.1-2, *https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/pakistanseducationcrisistherealstory2.pdf*.

[349] Andreas Benz, The Crisis of School Education in Pakistan Of Government’s Failure and New Hopes in the Growing Private Education Sector, Internationales Asienforum, Vol. 43 (2012), No.3–4, p.229, *https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:8QdMPSCL-4kJ:https://crossasia-journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/iaf/article/download/186/181+&cd=15&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us*

[350] Rebecca Winthrop & Corinne Graff, Beyond Madrasas Assessing the Links between Education and Militancy in Pakistan, *Center for Universal Education at Brookings*, Working Paper June 2010, p.11. *https://poseidon01.ssrn.com/delivery.php?ID=768074070121095093071013027086004095127039055041087088064008089028005068103102101121096063004100021039118065105116029109114121057080024078016126099072120067031093088033009000092020092009113012068112096096083099126102022121079101101007026108072070065&EXT=pdf*

[351] Andreas Benz, The Crisis of School Education in Pakistan Of Government’s Failure and New Hopes in the Growing Private Education Sector, *Internationales Asienforum*, Vol. 43 (2012), No.3–4, p.229, *https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:8QdMPSCL-4kJ:https://crossasia-journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/iaf/article/download/186/181+&cd=15&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us*

tuition is less than $5 per month."[352] "..over a quarter of the children aged six to 16 in Pakistan who are enrolled in schooling, attend private schools instead of sticking with the state system."[353] There are more schools in regions served *b*y senior politicians while other populations are forgotten. There are five universities being constructed in Nowshera at present, the district of KP's Chief Minister. In the meantime, in Tor Ghar, which was a tribal region until 2011 and is the smallest district in Pakistan, there is not a single girls' high school since no influential MPA is from there. Likewise, in Sindh, several villages have a number of schools while others have none.[354] "For every four primary schools in Pakistan, there is only one school above primary level. This means that most children who pass Class 5 do not have schools in which to continue their education. The large out-of-school population of the country is a direct product of this failure."[355]

"One reason so many children in Pakistan do not go to school is that there is no enforced government expectation that children should study. Pakistan's constitution states, "The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law." However, there is no organized effort by the government in any province to ensure that all children study. When children are not sent to school, no government official reaches out to the family to encourage or require that the child study. When a child drops out of school, individual teachers sometimes encourage the child to continue studying, but there is no systematic government effort to enroll or retain children in school."[356]

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[352] Amna Yamin, Scaling of Low-Cost Private Schools in Pakistan, Feb. 2014, Foundations of Research Universityof Potsdam, Research Gate, P.4, *https://www.researchgate.net/publication/260197989_Scaling_of_Low-Cost_Private_Schools_in_Pakistan*

[353] The Pakistani Education System: An overview, TransferWise, October, 2017, *https://transferwise.com/us/blog/pakistani-education-overview*

[354]Nadia Naviwala, *Pakistan's Education Crisis: The Real Story*, Op.Cit. , p.14, *https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/pakistanseducationcrisistherealstory2.pdf*.

[355] "Punjab ranks third, KP fifth in Alif Ailaan's education rankings", *Dawn*, December 14, 2017, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1376593*

[356] "Shall I Feed My Daughter, or Educate Her?" Barriers to Girls' Education in Pakistan, Human Rights Watch, Op.Cit. *https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/11/12/shall-i-feed-my-daughter-or-educate-her/barriers-girls-education-pakistan*

Chapter 3: Other Government-operated or Funded Schools

- **Sect-Limited Islamic Schools for the Affluent Class**
- **Elite English-Medium Schools**
- **Teachers and Pedagogy in Elite English-Medium Schools**
- **Private Non-Elite English-Medium Schools**
- **Cadet Schools**
- **Mosque Primary Schools**

Summary

- There are two models of Elite schools, the Elite English-medium schools, and the Islamic schools. Neither type of school addresses the needs of the greater population. These schools deepen the critical problem of exclusivity that their ambiance and pedagogy inculcate as the schools are limited to only specific Muslim sects related to the Elite class of Pakistani Sunni Muslims (typically either Deobandi or Ahl-e-Hadith).
- The governing classes ensure the transmission of their power and privilege to their descendants by offering them quality, high-cost education in the Elite English-medium schools, which are inaccessible to the deprived and middle classes. Non-Elites are left with the option of private English-medium schools for the lower middle class, and public schools or Islamic Madrasas for the poor classes at large. This has caused educational apartheid in the country.[357] Parents are

[357] Akhtar Hassan Malik, *A Comparative Study of Elite English-Medium Schools, Public Schools, and Islamic Madaris in Contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities"*, (Oman: Euro-Khaleeji Research and Publishing House, 2015), p. iii.

eager to enroll their children in English medium schools because graduates who speak English have a better chance at higher education and higher paying jobs. The private schools deal in selling English at unreasonably high prices. A rising number of students now go to private schools, escalating an industry that has become one of the country's most lucrative businesses.

- The ruling class uses their influence to grant multiple subsidies to the Elite schools. The contributors obtain a tax exemption for donating to the school. Their faculty members also receive tax exemptions. The government allots land to them.[358]
- The non-Elite English-medium private schools have considerably less educated teaching staff and a dearth of facilities relative to the Elite schools; therefore, typically their education method is based on rote learning. Overall, they use national textbook board curriculum, like government schools, but their books are mostly in English.
- The cadet schools are different from schools for poor children in many ways. They are subsidized by the government and some even provide free groceries to their cadets. Cadet schools have exceptional boarding and housing provisions, large playgrounds, well-equipped libraries, laboratories and teaching body with masters' degrees. In contrast, the conventional Udru-medium public schools occasionally do not even have benches for students to sit.[359] The rules and regulations of Cadet schools make a student mentally and physically prepared for joining Pakistan's Armed forces.
- The mosque schools were formed to provide the educational needs particularly in areas where formal primary schools were not available in the neighboring locality. The plan faced serious challenges because the government did not provide training to the local imams. They were not educationally equipped to teach school curriculum, as many of them were not formally educated.[360]
- Our educational system has socialized children of various classes to fit them into their perceived prospective class status. The curriculum, pedagogy, and values vary consistently with which class the school serves. Education in government schools, where the deprived children study, is highly dictatorial and the pedagogical methods and curriculum are conservative, retrograde, and filled with feudal values such as submission, obsequiousness, veneration, age and gender hierarchies, tameness, and obedience. The curriculum and pedagogical methods in Elite schools are more egalitarian, less totalitarian, more pluralistic, more diverse, more thought-provoking and more favorable to leadership values such as self-assertiveness.

Sect-Limited Islamic Schools for the Affluent Class

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[358] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities", op.cit. p. 69, *https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf*.

[359] Tariq Rahman, Denizens of Alien Worlds, A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.55-6.

[360] Uzma Anzar, "Islamic Education A Brief History of Madrassas With Comments on Curricula and Current Pedagogical Practices", *Op.Cit.* p.14, PDF File, *http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1121703274255/1439264-1126807073059/Islamic_Education_Paper.pdf*.

Islamic schools for the Elites are modeled on the old missionary grammar schools, which were set up to convert local Indians into Christianity. The missionary schools were initially noncommercial schools for lower class masses in the colonial period.[361] However, these Islamic schools now cater to Elite neighborhoods and inculcate sect-limited, exclusive Islamic morals. This clearly distinguishes them from ordinary private schools, which do not discriminate against students o*f differ*ent religious minorities or Islamic sects. They combine religious teachings with the Elite English-medium schools' syllabus, ensuring a traditional Islamic ambiance that is limited to the Salafis (Ahl-e-Hadith) or Deobandi sects. Most of the time Islamic schools are running under the patronage of influential religious leaders, who design the Islamic part of the curriculum.

Islamic schools that serve the Elites only are a relatively new trend. Twenty-five years ago, Elites who wanted exclusivity for their children went to private English schools. They have created an exclusive bubble for a particular kind of rich "Pakistani Muslim". After Saba Imtiaz interviewed the principal of Fajir Academy she wrote, "When I ask Ismail if students from other Islamic denominations can be admitted, he says parents are asked about what sect they follow at the time of admission. "We have a space in our heart," he says, "but it's not that big." That space wouldn't extend, he says, to kids whose parents "visit graveyards and shrines"—a hint at adherents of the Sunni Barelvi sect, as well as people who might not hold a rigid interpretation of Islam. "Would a Shia kid be allowed admission?" I ask. He asks to go off the record."[362]

According to a 2014 World Bank report "Today, one-fifth of children -- or one-third of all student*s* -- go to private schools in Pakistan. Private school students tend to come from urban, wealthier, and more educated households than do government school students and especially out-of-school children. Important differences exist across Pakistan's four provinces with respect to the characteristics of private school students relative to government school students, as well as in the composition of private school students."[363] The costs of Islamic private schools suggest that Islamic education is developing into a mini-industry. Moreover, these schools aren't accessible to all affluent, conservative Pakistani Muslims. They have to be a particular sort of Sunni Muslim—ensuring a traditional Islamic ambiance limited to the Salafis (Ahl-e-Hadith) and sometimes to Deobandis. It is shocking to see how the religious divisions in seminaries and mosques in Pakistan are reflected in these private Islamic schools. There are advantages to exposing children to diversity in the classroom so that students can become interested in cultures, ideas, or peoples outside their own experiences. These schools aren't just developing a new education system, or generating wealth —they're forming the religious identity and ideas and morals of the next

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[361] "Missionaries provided higher quality schools with their modern curricula insisted that both low and high caste children be educated together and provided incentives to teachers to bring in girls and untouchables into the educational system—cash incentives per new pupil were common." Tomila V. Lankina and Lullit Getachew, "Competitive religious entrepreneurs: Christian missionaries and female education in colonial and post-colonial India", *The London School of Economics and Political Science*, p.14, PDF File, *https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/44929/1/Competitive%20religious%20entrepreneurs%20(lsero).pdf*.

[362] Saba Imtiaz, "In Pakistan, these Schools are Putting Morality Back into the Curriculum", Op.Cit. *https://psmag.com/education/in-pakistan-these-schools-are-putting-morality-back-into-the-curriculum*

[363] Quynh Nguyen and Dhushyanth Raju, "Private School Participation in Pakistan", *The World Bank South Asia Region Education Unit,* May 2014, Policy Research Working Paper 6897, *https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/18789/WPS6897.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y*

generation Elites.[364] Al-Huda International School (AIS) was established in 2010 by Dr. Farhat Hashmi as "an ideal Islamic environment, the exclusive educational system". In a few years of its founding, the school made a position for itself as a leading educational system. The school is administered and directed by a panel of devoted, motivational experts. The team works on the goal of accomplishing religious plus worldly education, delivered simultaneously. It is believed that the children they teach are tomorrow's leaders. The top-most objective of AIS is to train children for the challenges of the future and make them establish a firm connection with the Almighty.[365] "In recent years, a slew of schools have opened up that offer a conventional education along with the opportunity to learn Arabic and memorize the Quran. Some schools go beyond just education in scripture, promising an all-encompassing Islamic environment. These schools aim to instill values and morals in their students while delivering an education swathed in religiosity. They are changing the notion of a traditional Islamic education, which is often construed as simply rote learning the Quran. And they're responding to a demand from parents, conservative and rich Muslims who have rediscovered their faith as adults and want a religious education for their children."[366]

What about Elite Shia, Barelvi, and other minority sects, let alone followers of other religions who are Pakistani nationals as well? At present, they go to the regular Elite private schools. As mentioned above this is a relatively new trend. Currently there are only Deobandi and Ahl-e- Hadith Islamic schools but eventually, every sect will have its own Islamic school. This represents another layer of exclusivity, not based on economic class. And what about the "*real Pakistani nationals*" I call them *real*, as they are far more in numbers and are indeed the real sufferers, for whom the Elite Pakistanis do not have much concern mainly because they belong to the forgotten *lower class*!

[364] Saba Imtiaz, "In Pakistan, these Schools are Putting Morality Back into the Curriculum", *Pacific Standard,* Jul 7, 2017, *https://psmag.com/education/in-pakistan-these-schools-are-putting-morality-back-into-the-curriculum*

[365] Juhi Naveed, Anwaar Mohyuddin, Structure and Organization of Al-Huda International: An Institution for Female Islamic Education, European Academic Reasearch, Vol.II, Issue 5/August, 2014, P.20, ResearchGate,*https://www.researchgate.net/publication/264528224_Structure_and_Organization_of_Al-Huda_International_An_Institution_for_Female_Islamic_Education* [accessed Dec 25 2018].

[366] Saba Imtiaz, "In Pakistan, these Schools are Putting Morality Back into the Curriculum", *Pacific Standard,* Jul 7, 2017, *https://psmag.com/education/in-pakistan-these-schools-are-putting-morality-back-into-the-curriculum*

SCHOOL FOR CONTEMPORARY AND ISLAMIC LEARNING

Alhuda international school progress report (April 2018)[367]

The expensive Elites' private Islamic schools, acclaimed world-class standard, import books from the US or the United Kingdom and support particular sects exclusively

The private Islamic schools do not use the curriculum designed by the Curriculum Wing of the Ministry of Education. Instead, their curriculum is based on Cambridge University Press or Oxford University Press books[368], in the same way as in the Army Public Schools and College Systems and Elites' English-medium Schools in Pakistan. Even for the subject of Pakistan Studies, these schools have *"The History and Culture of Pakistan"* written by Nigel Kelly (an English author), endorsed by Cambridge International Examinations, and published by Peek Publications.[369] Islamic schools have the appealing ideology of the Islamization of knowledge, which attracts zealous wealthy Pakistani Muslims, who didn't have this idea a

[367] http://aispk.org/ais-h-11-progress-report-april-2018/

[368] "AlHuda International School Book List 2017-18 Grade V", *Al Huda International School*, PDF File, http://aispk.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Booklist-2017-18-SecondarySection.pdf, Accessed April 19 2018. The Intellect School, Syllabus And Booklists, http://theintellect.edu.pk/for-students/syllabus-booklists/

[369] History and Culture of Pakistan, Nigel Kelly. "Goodreads." *Goodreads*, www.goodreads.com/book/show/21892344-history-and-culture-of-pakistan. Accessed 20 Apr. 2018. Advertisement https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/21892344-history-and-culture-of-pakistan

generation ago. For this religious renewal of interest, classes are led by female scholars and powerful clerics who have thousands of devotees. Adults study in religious classes with these scholars at institutions and learn about the Quran and how religion interconnects with their lives. Their beliefs are ultra-conservative—even rigid—though without using militant rhetoric. They have forged a subclass—they interact with people who have had similar religious instruction and upbringing and are of the same social class; they mingle and pray collectively. They have nurtured everything from boutiques catering to the Elite to youth clubs, and schools. They don't have a monastic life; they think that '*Islam'* encompasses every facet of their modern lives, from how they do the marketing and eat to where they learn.[370] Starting twenty years ago, this kind of school with the milieu and the name of Islam has sprouted in every part of the country. For the lower middle class, there are Iqra schools in every nook and cranny of the country. For the upper class, there are numerous schools in every big city in Pakistan. For instance, in Karachi there are several branches of Nakhla School, Reflection, Al-Suffah Islamic School, The Intellect, Fajr Academy, and Al-Huda International School in Elite neighborhoods, just to name a few of the long list. "At Fajr Academy, religion is intertwined in every aspect of the school day... On campus, there's a petting zoo with birds and rabbits, so kids can learn to care for animals. Children sit on the ground in classrooms like scholars in older times. The school takes on creative elements borrowed from foreign cultures: mathematics is taught using an abacus, homework is delivered as computer games. There's even an *indoor swimming pool*. Class sizes are deliberately kept limited to 15 kids, and boys and girls are segregated midway through primary school. There are exercises on treating domestic cleaners—a fixture of every upper-middle-class household—as equals, and field trips to *five-star hotels*."[371]

Religious school entrepreneurs claim authority over ethics and values being instilled in children and decide "*what* kind" of Muslim child can be admitted to a private Islamic school. These schools are, in a sense, inculcating conservatism in the upper classes. Religious school entrepreneurs believe that they are filling a significant gap in education—in private education as well as in traditional Islamic education. One of the reasons for the mushrooming of Elite Islamic schools is the prevailing perception that traditional Madrasas are not fulfilling their anticipated objective. "I really think the madrassahs have failed," says Asif Imam, the founder of Hidayah. "It's just rote learning, they don't really understand the Quran and Sunnah. Their [students] behavior doesn't match what they've been taught." At Fajr Academy, the idea of an all-embracing immersive Islamic environment starts with mothers. Hence, one of the requirements to be eligible for admission is that mothers have to be well-informed in "*Islam*" (Ahl-Hadith/Deobandi sect), a directive even Madrasas don't have. "Every mother has to do a full Islamic course from a place of her choosing, at least a one-and-a-half, two-year full-time Islamic course". Fajr requires parents— specifically the mothers— to be accountable for forming an Islamic environment at home. Television watching is monitored and students are anticipated to inform the school about their

[370] Saba Imtiaz, "In Pakistan, these Schools are Putting Morality Back into the Curriculum", Op.Cit. *https://psmag.com/education/in-pakistan-these-schools-are-putting-morality-back-into-the-curriculum*
[371] Ibid.

home milieus. Parents are brought in every weekend for meetings. "Otherwise what happens is garbage in, garbage out," Ismail says, attributing the school's Islamic milieu with "transforming families.[372]

Elite English-Medium Schools

Parents are eager to enroll their children in English medium schools because they want them to learn English - the language of power and prestige in Pakistan. English remains the realm of the country's Elite minority who are educated privately in English-medium schools and who can make an easy transition into English-medium higher education and higher-paid government professions that necessitate English-language educations. Present government policy aspires to broaden access to these English-only social strata by refining the excellence of English teaching in state schools. Yet the service of effective teaching and materials has been unequal, with the result that mainstream learners are failing to make even basic improvement in English.[373] Ordinary people have no access to these Elite schools. The private schools deal in selling English at unreasonably high prices. A rising number of students now go to private schools, resulting in an industry that has become one of the country's most lucrative businesses. As stated by former finance minister Shahid Javed Burki, 30 percent of Pakistani students today go to private schools. The private schools vary from one-room school houses in villages that cost less than $1 each student for lower classes to international schools that charge rates equivalent to Elite private schools overseas. As well as often offering superior services and having more resources than the government schools, the country's best private schools are educating the country's succeeding generation of leaders. One example is Beacon House, which is one of Pakistan's oldest and most substantial private school network. In the course of the past 33 years, it has expanded to 130 branches throughout the country, equipped with computers and modern facilities. Its students seek to go to universities overseas and pursue professional occupations. For instance, Hashim Mustasin, 16, goes to the Beacon House in Lahore's high-class Defense locality. He says he plans to apply to Columbia University and foresees that he "will get in for sure because I am a straight-A student."[374] Some of the Elite schools charge ridiculously high ceiling fees in addition; other repeated expenses are anticipated as well. "For instance, to admit a child at O levels, the parents have to pay more than eighty thousand rupees in one installment, which only a few in the country can afford. Besides, every parent has to sporadically pay certain other expenses, which include purchasing tickets for annual functions, sports competitions, funfairs or sending the child to study tours or sports competitions locally or abroad. The amount of such expenses is not fixed and changes with time and the nature of the event. Moreover, uniform and textbooks are available only at the school's retail stores, which are expensive and contribute to a parent's educational budget for the child. The fee payment rules include mandatory bimonthly payment; however, parents have the discretion to pay fees on annual bases as an up-front payment. Fees can only be paid through cash or personal cheques and must be paid by the specified

[372] Saba Imtiaz, "In Pakistan These Schools are Putting Morality Back into the Curriculum", Op.Cit. *https://psmag.com/education/in-pakistan-these-schools-are-putting-morality-back-into-the-curriculum*

[373] Max de Lotbinière, "Pakistan facing language 'crisis' in schools", *Op.Cit.* *https://www.thequardian.com/education/2010/dec/07/pakistan-schools-language-crisis-lotbiniere*

[374] Bilal Qureshi, "Pakistani School System Highlights Wealth Gap", Special Series Political Turmoil in Pakistan, Op.Cit. *https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=19333953*

date; failing to do so can result in heavy fines, cancellation of admission or registration with the ministry of education (for international students), etc. As expected, both Elite schools do not award any kind of fee concession to their students."[375] To obtain admission into these schools parent will be paying an application fee, after which a registration fee (not the similar thing seemingly), then, a security deposit and an advanced monthly payment. Several schools even have a sort of "annual charges". A parent may spend about Rs100,000 to 150,000 without the child being admitted in the school.[376]

The Elite school students' families mostly belong to the wealthy classes. The parents have executive jobs, have business empires or a significant piece of land, or govern trade companies, etc. Many fathers are also involved in politics or part of the government organization. Some mothers are keenly engaged in national/local politics, social work, or in lucrative professions. The majority of families have monthly incomes of over 100,000 rupees, with several families earning roughly one million rupees. The school family incomes represent fewer than 1 percent of the families in Pakistan.[377] "The ruling classes ensure the transfer of their power and privilege to their children by providing them quality education in Elite schools. The disadvantaged classes are excluded from these unique institutions by both social and economic sanctions. They have no other option than to educate their children either in public schools or Islamic madaris... Quality education has become further inaccessible to underprivileged classes. This has contributed to educational apartheid in the country."[378]

The majority of Elite schools have campuses spread throughout the country. As Tariq Rahman stated, the educating methods in these institutions are more humane, modern, innovative and interesting than in the Urdu-medium government schools and the Madrasas. Books are printed overseas and have pictures and more general information than Textbook Board textbooks. The masterpieces of English, mostly in an abridged form, are used to teach English. World history is taught rather than only politically correct, Pakistan-centric studies. However, the O level exam makes the study of Pakistan studies, Islamic studies, and Urdu obligatory even for these students. The curriculum of the elitist English-medium schools differs from the conventional English-medium schools. For instance, elitist schools like Beacon house, City School, and Froebels, etc. do not predominately use the books mandated by the Pakistan Textbook Board until class IX on English and Urdu (the only languages taught in these schools). The Pakistan Textbook Board's books are only utilized if the student wants to take the Pakistan matriculation (Class X) exam. Certain schools like Froebels do not even permit their students to take the matriculation exam. Every student appears in the British ordinary and advanced level school certificate examinations. Accordingly, the majority of students study books primarily written for Western students. Certain books have been particularly reprinted for Pakistan but the modifications made in them are insignificant - such

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[375]Akhtar Hassan Malik, A Comparative Study of Elite-English-Medium Schools, Public Schools, and Islamic Madaris in Contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities", op.cit. p.68. *https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf*

[376] Adi Abdurab, "How the private schools' fee hike is holding education hostage in Pakistan", *Dawn*, September 12, 2015, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1206546*

[377] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A Comparative Study of Elite-English-Medium Schools, Public Schools, and Islamic Madaris in Contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities", op.cit. p. 9. *https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf*

[378]Ibid, p. ii.

as the dresses of women are Pakistani and characters occasionally have Pakistani names. Other books are clearly designed for Western readers and serve to socialize a student into English-speaking Western society. Students read about such masterpieces as Lorna Doone, Little Women, Wuthering Heights, and Tom Brown's School Days and are introduced to renowned characters like Florence Nightingale. The world depicted in these books is Western, middle-class, and successful. It is a secular world of nuclear families where the domestic errands are mostly accomplished by women though they are occasionally seen performing other work as well. The overwhelming implication of the texts is liberal and secular. Notions like the segregation or veiling of women, pervasive religiosity, sectarianism or ethnicity get no encouragement. Even the Urdu textbooks are published by private publishers and are less sympathetic to state ideology than those of the national textbook boards. However, all Pakistani students have to study Urdu, Pakistan Studies, and Islamic Studies, which expose them to official state ideology to varying extents.

While the education system for the Elites is not structured to make students perceive or feel compassion with the values, sentiments, and desires of their fellow countrymen, they are typically followers in liberal-humanist and democratic values. Therefore they are less vulnerable to sectarian biases or the persecution of Hindus, Ahmadis, and non-Muslims in Pakistan. Being less subjected to nationalistic and militaristic indoctrination, they are also less inclined than others to India-bashing and excessive glorification of war and the military. The students of the state-influenced English schools—mostly cadet-colleges/schools that provide a government-subsidized high-quality education—share more with middle-class urban Pakistanis than the Elite English-medium students. However, similar to the Elites, they also are isolated from villagers and have not received any education regarding the local cultures of the country. The students of the state-influenced English schools are not vulnerable to sectarian prejudices but, being nationalistic and militaristic, they are fairly anti-India and sympathetic to the military.

According to Tariq Rahman, students of English schools, including those which are English-medium only in name, tend to see themselves as an Elite—not of wealth and power, which they are, but in aptitude and knowledge. They consider the students of the government vernacular-medium schools with contempt. Certainly, to be 'Urdu-medium' or 'Paendoo' [rustic] is a phrase of mocking scorn used by such students. They disdain the values of their society, from which they are isolated. The public school students are disdained by the elite English-medium school students, just as the British disparaged the *Brown Indians*.[379] Possibly it is with intent that the Elite students are kept isolated from ordinary Pakistanis; in the same manner, British kept the Indian nawabs and maharajas under their supervision, distant from the native Indians, and hence the young nawabs could regard themselves as more British than Indian, and rule their own people with no empathy.[380] The products of Elite English-medium schools who become bureaucrats of the state are the ones who create and justify the policies that disempower and further pauperize the poor. No matter what they may consider in private, or

[379] Tariq Rahman, Denizens of Alien Worlds, A Study of Education, Inequality, and Polarization in Pakistan, Op.cit. p.59-71 passim

[380] Hussain Nadim, "How the 'elite' schools are destroying Pakistan" *Daily Times*, OP-ED, October 2, 2013, *https://dailytimes.com.pk/107423/how-the-elite-schools-are-destroying-pakistan/*

acknowledge openly believing in the fashionable company, they do not do anything to transform laws that victimize religious minorities and women.[381]

Heartrendingly, the Elite mentality refined in these private schools goes beyond the schools. The Elites eat at different restaurants, their hangout locations are different, and in point of fact, they have shrunk themselves to living in a bubble isolated from the daily concerns of average Pakistani people. Why, then, would they be concerned about offering equal education to everyone? Isn't equal education the only chance for the middle class or lower class to progress through the ranks and emulate the Elite? It is! That is exactly why it seems that the rich in Pakistan have designed an inequitable education system: poor low-quality education for lower and middle classes will keep them in their state permanently. The Pakistani Elites are closely interwoven together. Politically, they constitute Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz, Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid, and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf. But beneath their political rivalries, they all are the same. Their kids go to the same schools, clubs, and restaurants, and they inter-marry. Several of them even have relatives in each political party. For the majority of the Elite, it appears there is only one rival: the middle class of Pakistan that has over the years become increasingly poor.[382] "The Elite oppose widespread education, as educated people are more likely to demand redistribution of income and power. The ruling Elite also sees little incentive to tax themselves to pay for the schooling of the masses. In fact, they need a submissive labor class that generates capital for them without refusing to go along with their exploitative system."[383]

"The main source of funds for Elite schools and their relative autonomy is the lucrative fee contributions of their Elite clientele. However, to some extent, government subsidies, private donations, and patronage from the ruling class also contribute in this regard."[384] In addition, the governing class uses its influence to grants multiple subsidies to the Elite schools. For example, a substantial reduction in income and property tax is awarded every year. If the members of the board of trustees and other affluent contributors donate a particular amount of the school funds, they are qualified to obtain a tax exemption for that amount. The Elite schools also receive the exemption from customs duties and other taxes when importing educational apparatus and materials. The faculty members receive tax exemptions on their revenue from research publications. Additionally, if an Elite school plans to expand or to open a new branch, the government either makes land available without cost or on subsidized charges depending on the type of locality. The zoning rules are also relaxed for such type of extensions. Thus, it seems that Elite schools are independent bodies to the degree that they can formulate any policy that profits their customers. Most of all, these schools are the social places that shelter and breed scholastic capital that give power to Elite children to access preeminent social and economic ranks. The governing Elites, in turn, use their power to preserve this distinct schooling system as it guarantees the breeding of their own authority and privilege to the next generations. In so doing, they explicitly violate

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[381] Tariq Rahman, Denizens of Alien Worlds, A Study of Education, Inequality, and Polarization in Pakistan, Op.cit. p.72.

[382] Hussain Nadim, "How the 'elite' schools are destroying Pakistan" *Daily Times*, OP-ED, Op.Cit. *https://dailytimes.com.pk/107423/how-the-elite-schools-are-destroying-pakistan/*

[383] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities", op.cit. p. 60. *https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf*

[384] Ibid, p.67.

constitutional declaration against prejudice among citizens.[385] Hence, the structural and professional concerns of Elite schools are profoundly rooted in dominant-class interests and economic-market demands.[386]

Teachers and Pedagogy in Elite English-Medium Schools

Elite English-medium school teachers are different in every aspect from government school teachers in ability and performance. Teachers in Elite English medium schools are actively engaged in classwork and learning various activities. In Elite schools, the teachers primarily facilitate students' aptitude to master the intricacies of the English language. They try to create a classroom milieu in which the students are expected to learn on their own and as a result of their own reasoning, preparation, and peer/self-correction of their work. In this manner, the teachers act as mediators and facilitators. The teachers steadfastly challenge students' knowledge in order to improve their intellectual competences, conceptual advancement, and correct application of linguistic principles and grammatical rules in spoken and composed communication. For example, Akhtar Malik observed that throughout the 45-minute classwork on "Understanding the Present Continuous Tense," the teacher of an O level class in one of the Elite schools set up a student-focused, interest-based classroom milieu in which students extrapolated grammatical rules by themselves. Most importantly, the teacher did not try to confine the classwork contained by the listed topic. When a student mentioned an out of context question regarding the use of "gerund" and "infinitive," the teacher concisely described their correct application. The teacher tried to help students delve into as much grammatical knowledge as possible in 45 minutes of class time. To learn further regarding the present continuous tense and its several dimensions, the teacher recommended some high-level reading material, comprising selected publications from Oxford and Cambridge University Press. The teacher also emailed some helpful websites to all students for additional comprehension of this topic before class. For homework, the teacher required the students to write a story, dialog, paragraph, a review of a news article, or a running report of a game/event, based on their interests, that used at least four dimensions of present continuous tense. The teacher concentrated on imparting to the students that their assignment was not to view apparent meanings but to unearth the hidden meanings by means of profound analysis.[387]

On the other hand, in the government schools, Akhtar Malik observed[388] in his visit to a 10th-grade class that the teachers primarily focused their teaching on elucidating the fundamental rules and formulae that govern the English language. These rules were elucidated in the local language, due to which, the students mainly translated Urdu sentences into English, while employing the right formulae. Interactive speaking in English was not emphasized between the teacher and students or between students. Accordingly, the students continue to be incapable of achieving fluency and confidence in utilizing their

[385] Ibid, p. 69.
[386] Ibid, p.67.
[387] Ibid, p. 135-138.
[388] In an email conversation he replied that he observed O-level classes in elite schools and compared them with grade 10 or equivalent in other types of schools. Akhtar Malik Hassan, "Re:" Received by Author, 18th December, 2018.

learning for everyday situations. Furthermore, no creative oral or written project is generally assigned to students through the classwork or an assignment. For example, in one of the schools under study, Malik noticed a grammar lesson on "understanding the present continuous tense" in which the teacher consumed nearly twenty minutes clarifying the fundamental rules of how to form a correct sentence. He then wrote the following basic formula on the blackboard and clarified its structure in the local language of the students (Urdu): Subject + is, am, are + verb + ing + preposition + object. Afterward, a sequence of exercises began, in which the teacher showed examples for this formula by forming several sentences, for instance: He + is + going + to + school. I + am + waiting + for + you. She + is + knocking + at+ the door. We + are + looking + for + your + lost watch, and so on. Whenever the teacher wrote a sentence on the board, he recited it three to five times and demanded the class recite after him loudly. The teacher afterward described to Malik that this is an imperative action to engrave the formula on the students' brains because the majority of them did not have the capability to understand it by themselves. The teacher then asked the students to open their textbooks, which were approved by the Provincial Board for educating English Grammar. He would read an Urdu sentence and asked students to translate it, turn by turn, into English. Throughout the classwork, the teacher did not highlight other features of the same tense (e.g. how to modify an affirmative statement into a negative or interrogative or the usage of "who, what, where, when, why and how") since this was not specified in the textbook. The teacher also discouraged students from taking the freedom to search concepts outside his teaching. For example, when a pupil translated a sentence as "My father is considering to take an early retirement" (classwork, December 16, 2007), another pupil interposed and, after getting permission, said, "can we translate it another way as my father explained to me last night" (classwork, December 16, 2007). The teacher forcefully repudiated these pupils' wish and ordered him to sit down. The pupil insisted and held that his father stated to add "ing" with "take" to formulate a correct sentence, for example, "I am considering taking early retirement." The student was right; however, the teacher scolded and offended him by naming him "Shakespeare." Furthermore, the teacher directed pupils to stick to the textbook, which does not provide an example of utilizing the "ing" form two times in a sentence. It seemed that the teachers' aim was not directed towards linguistic creativity, but on grades in the final exams. The grades are based on the uniformity of grammatical structures, blind textual obedience, and a replica of unchanged, studied, and memorized information not on how differently a student reasons or generates sentences. The teacher also grossly disregarded some other significant aspects of the present continuous tense, for example, that it can be utilized to explain the backdrop of a story, a joke, and an event. The teacher did not discuss the use of "have" when it has non-state meaning, which is another significant trait of the present continuous tense. For example, it can be utilized instead of "to eat" "take" and "drink" etc. Such as: "They are having lunch," "We are having a party tonight," or "She is having coffee." Likewise, the teacher did not propose any type of literature for additional study. In its place, he gave the assignment to memorize thirty sentences from the textbook. When the teacher was asked why he did not ask students to form their own sentences, the teachers stated that he expected that the majority of them would be incapable of such a task. He said, "They will make wrong sentences and then ask me for correction or further understanding...obviously, I do not have time to repeat a topic over and over again...I have to cover the syllabus as well" (post-class reflections, December 16, 2007).[389]

[389] Ibid, p. 125-7.

This distinction is also apparent in chemistry classes. In Elite English-medium schools, the work of chemistry was predominantly based on decision-making procedures, in which the teachers presented novel challenges to the students and channeled them towards formulating the right resolutions. Although accurate answers are extremely significant in science, they were not provided to the students. Instead, the students were inspired to come to the right answers themselves by thinking through the question. For example, the chemistry lesson on single and double displacement chemical reactions commonly asked students to formulate judgments regarding how to balance the equations of a chemical reaction, differentiate among several kinds of reactions, and apply these ideas to problem-resolving. These schools support productive undertakings that are carried out individually in order to promote self-assurance and ability to communicate effectively among students. Furthermore, rather than narrating the definitions of chemical terminologies to the class and requiring students to memorize them –the norm in the non-Elite private and government schools— the teacher initiates circumstances that inspired students to apply these ideas. Likewise, the biology class work in the Elite schools mostly encompassed analysis, observation, inference, decision-making, and preparation and examination. The teachers appreciate higher-level conceptual deliberation and inspired students to apply their knowledge and newly learned biological concepts to answer connected problems. A course plan is given to the students at the beginning of the year, specifying the themes that were to be discussed every month. The course plan has a listing of reference books and research articles and furthermore recommended several web resources.

For instance, the lessons on “Human Heart: Its Anatomy and Functions” demonstrates methods that are based on students’ self-reliant research and group projects to share learning and further explore pertinent concepts. The students ask relevant and thought-provoking questions. Considering their interest in the topic, the teacher inscribed those questions on the whiteboard. Rather than answering them, he said, “All questions are very important…but I will not answer them now. I will prefer all of you to take this subject-area as a ‘project’ for further investigation” (classwork, April 16, 2008). The students were at that point required to make a judgment regarding the particular topic they desired to investigate, the resources they would utilize, and how they would handle this research (i.e. independently or in a group). The teacher proposed that if anybody required additional understanding, s/he could see him after class or send him an email. After determining the methods needed to accomplish this assignment, the teacher requested students to divide into four groups and allotted one question to each group. The students were expected to hash out the questions to conclude the best answers, and then present them before class for additional debate. In the Elite schools, science experiments include inventive activity and are performed by small groups of students. The students are encouraged to develop their hypothesis, formulate judgments for suitable techniques and materials, and conclude what they require to learn from this practical experience. In the anatomy section that had students dissect a frog, the government schools (where dissection was performed only on one occasion in an academic session) can be compared to the Elite schools, where successions of multiple dissections were performed. The day before a dissection (such as of the digestive system) the teacher required students to watch a video and computer graphics of the dissection and some websites were recommended. The next day, the teacher started a discussion in the class regarding what the students had learned from the websites, what had attracted them, and the scientific matters they were going to study in this experiment. Different students had different concerns and hypotheses. For example, a

student had a hypothesis that a frogs' digestive system has more similarities than differences with that of human beings. He was enthusiastic to find out himself. Another student had a hypothesis that the stomach mucous cell is different from other body cells. He wanted to remove some mucus cells from the inner walls of the stomach and examine them underneath a microscope in comparison with other kinds of cells. Another student wanted to understand the link between the stomach and liver and how bile is carried to the digestive system. The teacher collaborated with these interested students, offering supervision time and equipment. Evidently, he was aware of the importance of developing a scientific mindset in students. Towards the end of this analysis, a summary of the aims of the experiment, together with basic guidelines, was supplied on the blackboard. The teacher once again inquired whether the students had any questions regarding the method or desired to additionally talk over a concept or add a viewpoint. Students were required to wear their lab coats, safety goggles, and disposable plastic gloves every time they worked on their experiment and treat hazardous materials safely. Furthermore, several charts containing information about lab protection mechanisms were visible all across the lab.

As compared to the non-Elite private English medium and government schools, the Elite school curricula are not filled with doctrinal notions. The teachers of Islamic studies clarify that they mostly encourage students to contemplate the Quranic revelation throughout classwork, rather than recommending blind faith, which they believe is irrational. They mostly discuss that the Quran can only be comprehended and its aims are properly attained by reflecting on every verse and deliberating to reveal the inferences and wisdom contained therein. The teachers elucidate that God Himself has asked followers to contemplate and reason upon the Quranic wisdom. To support her standpoint, a teacher of Islamic studies cited a Quranic verse, "reflect upon its verses and that those of understanding would be reminded" (Quran, 38:29). Another teacher clarified, "During my classes, I always invite students to comparatively study major religions of the world. It helps them to properly understand the essence of divine wisdom". These customs are in contradiction to the other schools, in which a blind adherence to the religion is required. In non-Elite private English medium and government schools, any sort of questioning and inquiry about the Quranic epistemology and hadith are severely prohibited and occasionally believed to be a sin. Similarly, studying other religions or even interpretations of other sects of Islam are blocked.[390]

The Elite school teachers inspire students to discover knowledge, interact meaningfully with educational resources, construct meaning, and test their ideas and hypotheses while being accountable for their own studying. The teachers also present questions so as to involve students in self-reliant research and find out the right answers themselves. Furthermore, it is customary throughout the classwork for teachers to challenge and probe students to generate arguments that are rationally sound and of superior academic excellence. When the teachers assign homework projects, they expect the students to use similar high levels of creativity as they do throughout the class work. Furthermore, the teachers try to develop the social scenario of the class by developing confidence and accountability among students, responding to personal disagreements, and promoting moral conduct and ethical merits. They

[390] Ibid, Pp.135-143 passim.

involve students in defining proper classroom rules, which promotes students' spirits of ownership, dedication to the rules and measures, and awareness of common responsibilities.[391]

Private Non-Elite English-Medium Schools

The standard private school in Pakistan is usually a small primary school that is self-owned, typically with untrained teachers.[392] The greatest numbers of the so-called English-medium schools are English-medium only in name. In a 1987 survey of Rawalpindi-Islamabad, there were 60 English-medium schools in Islamabad and 250 in Rawalpindi. Out of these 250, only 39 schools were recognized by the government. In the matriculation examinations of 1999, a total of 119,673 applicants appeared from the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Lahore. Out of these, according to the records in the Board's office, 6923 (5.8 percent) were from English-medium schools. The majority of these applicants (6448) were from the city itself.[393] These schools are clearly concentrated in the cities though they are rapidly emerging even in small towns throughout the country. Their fee varies between Rs50 to Rs1500 per month, which is far greater than the average state vernacular school but immensely lower than that of the elitist private English-medium schools. In these schools, a pretense is made of teaching most subjects in English. Normally, teachers write answers to all questions on the board which students dutifully copy, memorize, and reproduce in exams. This is because the fee structure and a dearth of facilities appeal to students from socioeconomic families where English is barely used. Likewise, the salary structure only appeals to teachers who are not fluent—certainly not even adequately skilled—in English in the least. However, curricula and exams are in English.[394] "While teachers are mostly untrained, the vast majority of them are educated to at least the 10th grade: 95% of the teachers in private schools have at least a matric (10th grade) education, and in fact, two-thirds have 12th grade and above."[395]

In mainly low-income schools, teachers assume that students will underperform and largely impart a low sense of accountability. On the other hand, when a greater percentage of students are from wealthy

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[391] Ibid, p.118.

[392] Tahir Andrabi, Jishnu Das, Asim Ijaz Khwaja, "The Rise of Private Schooling in Pakistan: Catering to the Urban Elite or Educating the Rural Poor?", *Harvard Kennedy School ASH Center, Government Innovators Network, A Forum for Innovation in the Public Sector,* Op.Cit. p.16, PDF File, https://www.innovations.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/2608043.pdf.

[393] The latest survey conducted by the government in 2001 has found a total of 33,893 institutions of general education in the private sector. However, the medium of instruction is not provided, though most of them profess to be English-medium schools (Census Private 2001: 12). Tariq Rahman, Denizens of Alien Worlds, A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan, Op.cit. p.64.

[394] Ibid.

[395] Tahir Andrabi, Jishnu Das, Asim Ijaz Khwaja, "The Rise of Private Schooling in Pakistan: Catering to the Urban Elite or Educating the Rural Poor?" *Harvard Kennedy School ASH Center, Government Innovators Network, A Forum for Innovation in the Public Sector,* Op.Cit. P.18. https://www.innovations.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/2608043.pdf.

classes, the teachers emphasize their intellectual abilities and feel further responsible for what their students study. As a result, the teachers' sense of accountability for student education is linked to their beliefs regarding students' intellectual capabilities by means of a set of entrenched preconceptions regarding what is likely for students from certain upbringings. Consequently, the teachers' salient teaching of customs mostly guide the students' education experiences in a specific direction and steer them on a path of lingering within their social class. This evidently perpetuates the preservation of the status quo and the continuing disparity between the rich and poor. [396]

Cadet Schools

Parents who want to prepare their child for a career in Pakistan Army, Navy, PAF or any other armed forces of Pakistan choose Cadet college. However, it is not necessary for the Cadet schools' students to join the Armed forces. Students there live in the college's hostel (which has its own security system) with their classmates. They follow the rules and regulations assigned by the officials for curriculum and extra-curricular activities. Generally, Cadet Schools starts from grade five but some of them start from kindergarten, such as Cadet College Lahore, with the monthly fee of Rs.15000.[397] According to Tariq Rahman, they provide a mind-building environment with rules and regulations that make a student mentally and physically prepared for joining Pakistan's Armed forces. Cadet colleges in Pakistan have an initial written test to select candidates; those who pass the written test then go through a physical health examination and an interview as well. The armed forces also run numerous English-medium schools, situated in military bases and cantonments. Via the Fauji Foundation (Army), Shaheen Foundation (Air Force) and the Bahria Foundation (Navy), the forces have built institutions for heirs (retired military personnel) from the 1970s onwards. The Fauji Foundation, for example, governs 88 secondary and 4 higher secondary schools. These schools charge small tuition fees to military heirs but a greater amount to civilians. In Rawalpindi, for example, the following fees exist: Fee for retired Army non-commissioned ranks is Rs.150; retired officers Rs.310; serving non-commissioned ranks Rs.260; serving officers Rs.450 but civilians have to pay Rs.1000 each month for the education of their children from class 6-10 (info provided by the head office of the Fauji Foundation Rawalpindi). In Army Burn Hall College (Abbottabad) an average monthly fee for the child of army families is Rs.803, but civilians have to pay Rs.1458 (the fees are different for each class but the average fee is presented here). The boarders pay Rs.2956 fees from army families and civilians pay Rs.3506 (info from Burn Hall's office.) According to the manual of the Airforce on the Air University, the PAF (Pakistan Airforce) has established more than25 schools and colleges at various Bases, with an enrollment of over 43000 students and almost 2000 teachers. In a nutshell, the armed forces have penetrated the field of English-medium, elitist education and mostly offer inexpensive English-medium education to their own children.

The cadet colleges are sponsored by the government. As their students are generally borders, there is also a fee for board and accommodation. Then there are other related expenditures along with the

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[396] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities" op.cit. p.24. *https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf*

[397] Cadet College Lahore, Boarding Rules, *http://www.cadetcollegelahore.com/Boarding_Rules.html*

expense of getting European clothes—coat, shirt, trousers, boots, etc.—that make them elitist institutions. Tariq Rahman has mentioned several cadet schools' budget and expenses per student. For instance, Lawrence School's budget is Rs.98, 886,181, the tuition fee is Rs.2000[398], the part of the budget covered by fees is 18.19%, a total number of students is 711 and the total cost per student per year is Rs.1, 39,080 (according to the institution itself).[399] The Board of Governors is directed by the Governor of Punjab, and the Principal is ex officio Secretary to the board. It is significant that one of the well-known sons of Lawrence College, former Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali, is a lifetime member of the institute.[400]

- "Expenditure on Cadet Colleges/Public Schools

Institution	Donation from Provincial Government (Rs)	Number of Students	Yearly Cost Per Student to Government (Rs)
Cadet College Kohat	5,819,800	575	10,121
Cadet College Larkana	6,000,000	480	12,500
Cadet College Petaro	14,344,000	700	20,491
Lawrence College	12000,000	711	16,878
Cadet College Hasanabdal	8,096,000	480	16,867
Source: The offices of the respective institutions have supplied information about donations and number of students."[401]			

The salaries of officers serving in the schools administered by the armed forces come from the defense budget. In Military College Jhelum the cadets receive free groceries. These also are types of funding which poor children do not get in equal measure or of the equal quality. Rahman further mentioned that it is for this reason that, though cadet colleges have exceptional boarding and housing provisions, large playgrounds, well-equipped libraries, laboratories and teaching body with masters' degrees, the conventional Udru-medium public schools may not even have benches for students to sit. To sum up, contradictory to its asserted policy of expending public funds on providing equal education to everyone, the government (and its institutions) expend extra funds on privileged children for a privileged (English-

[398] However, the current fee structure on their website is from PKR 503260/- to PKR 562338/- according to grades from Junior (I-IV) till senior (XI-XII). Lawrence College Ghora Gali Muree, Pakistan, Fee Structure, http://lawrencecollege.edu.pk/fee-structure/ Acessed Dec 16, 2017.
When the author asked about the above mentioned fee of Rs2000, which is extremely low relative to the current fees, Tariq Rahman replied thru the research gate website mail on Dec 19, 2017, "This fee is only about classes not the board and lodging etc. This was done in order to compare boarding schools with others. Moreover, the data is from 1999, though the book was published in this form in 2004. Since then the fees went up astronomically. The website is correct as far as the present FULL fees is concerned." https://www.researchgate.net/publication/271715758_Denizens_of_Alien_World_A_Study_of_Education_Inequality_and_Polarization_in_Pakistan

[399] The source is from the offices of the respective institutions except for the cost per student per year which was obtained by dividing the total budget by the number of students. Tariq Rahman, Denizens of Alien Worlds, A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan, Islamabad, Oxford University Press, New York, 2004, p.53-6.

[400] Lawrence College Ghora Gali Muree, Pakistan, The Governing Body, http://lawrencecollege.edu.pk/the-governing-body/

[401] Tariq Rahman, Denizens of Alien Worlds, A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan, Op.Cit. p.54.

medium) system of education.[402] "The cost of education and the low budgetary allocation to education throughout the entire history of the nation testify to the fact that the policymakers have opted for an educational system whereby only the rich can enjoy the benefits of modern education while the poorer sections are marginalized. Take the case of cost for example. On average, the annual tuition cost per student in Urdu-medium public schools is 2,265 Pakistani rupees, which is borne entirely by the state; the comparable figures for an Elite English-medium school is 96,000 rupees, to be borne by the parents; and for cadet colleges or public schools it is 90,000 rupees, of which the state bears 15,000 rupees."[403]

"Fact Sheet about Cadet College								
Name	Year Established	Area in Acres	Budget 2002-2003(Unless Otherwise indicated)	Average Monthly Tuition Fees	Expenditure from the fee	Number of students	@Cost per year per student	Donation
Aitichison College	1886	196	204,000,000	5,950	80% (163,200,000)	2120	96,226	No Information given by the institution
Cadet College Kohat	1965	144	19,981,217	4,701	44% (8,785,923)	575	34,750	5,819,800 (NWFP Govt)
Cadet College Larkana	1992	362	23,176,006	550	90% (25,817,206)	480	56,617	6,000.00 (Sind Govt)
Cadet College Pitaro	1957	425	71,720,000	6,000	80% (57,376,000)	700	1,02,457	20% (from Sind Govt)
Lawrence College	1860	100	98,886,181	2,000	18.19% (17,987,396)	711	139,080	12,000,000 (Punjab Govt)
Sadiq Public School	1953	150	-	3,500	-	1100	-	1,50,000 from private donors 50,000 per new student

[402] Ibid, p.55-6.
[403] Ali Riaz, Faithful Education Madrassahs in South Asia, Op.Cit. p.98.

								100,000 from Punjab Govt.
Military College Jhelum	1925	167	Salaries from Govt, free rations for cadets + 10,00,000 from GHQ	400 for sons of certain kinds of military personnel and 2000 for others	10% (the other the figure is not given by the institution	520	Cannot be calculated.	By the GHQ and other donors Exact figures have not been given by the institution.
Cadet College Hassan Abdal	1954	97	48,223,000	1,350	12.75% (61,53,000)	480	100,465	80,96,000 (Punjab Govt)
Cadet College Mastung	1987	108	36,300,000	2200	15.75% (5,500,000)	360	100,834	Nil"

"[404]

This data is evidence that the Government is persistently providing donations to cadet schools, presumably from the education budget, which should be spent on the public schools instead. The government schools for the local public are neither a priority for government nor for bureaucratic officers. They support Cadet Schools and Elite English-medium schools. The influential religious leaders have their own money-spinning Islamic schools, such as Dr. Farhat Hashmi runs Al-Huda International Schools.

According to Tariq Rahman, both Matric (national examination boards) and Cambridge systems are available in most cadet schools. The textbooks in Cadet College are mostly from Textbook Boards and are in English. Their teachers are mostly from the middle classes, and expose students to anti-India, pro-military concepts. As Cadet school students live in their lodges, these students (unlike their elitist school counterparts) are not exposed to cable TV. They are as isolated from the publics' culture and objectives as other elitist children. They also want to maintain and perpetuate their advantaged status by reinforcing English as the language of the realms of influence in the country. They are accustomed to several regiments in their schools. They are sympathetic to less militant and intolerant policies and are

[404] Tariq Rahman, *Denizens of Alien Worlds, A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan,* op.cit. p.56, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/271715758_Denizens_of_Alien_World_A_Study_of_Education_Inequality_and_Polarization_in_Pakistan

thus more similar to the students of other English-medium schools than to their counterparts in the Madrasas. However, perhaps because of regimentation and nearness to the military, they are slightly more hostile and prejudiced towards the religious minorities and women than are the students of elitist English-medium schools.[405] "They are tolerant of Hindus and Christians but not of Ahmedis and women as far as equality of rights is concerned.

Tolerance of Religious Minorities and Women in Cadet College and Public School Teachers-2003 (N=51)			
(In percentages)			
	Yes	No	Don't Know
Ahmadis	29.41	62.75	7.84
Hindus	60.78	35.29	3.92
Christians	60.78	33.33	5.88
Women	37.25	58.82	3.92

"[406]

Mosque Primary Schools

The mosques were used as a place of studying for out-of-school children. This policy was initiated in 1978-79 to revitalize an institution that has the huge capability of educating the public. The government of Pakistan tested the idea of transforming some Qur'anic schools into mosque primary schools in rural areas, as a result of a dearth of resources to provide schools in every village. The plan was the local imam would teach students some additional subjects such as basic Urdu and mathematics. Because the local imams were not academically prepared to teach Urdu and math, since many of them had not attended formal secular schools and the government did not provide any training to prepare them for the new task, the plan faced serious challenges. While some mosque schools closed down, some also survived. At present, there are approximately 25,000 mosque primary schools in Pakistan. Studies on their efficiency are not available.[407]

The school timing, curriculum, teachers' qualification and supervision of mosque and Primary schools are the same. The only difference between these two systems is that the mosque schools usually provide three years of schooling while normal Primary schools provide five years of schooling. The Primary schools were in government buildings with three to five teachers and mosque schools were in

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[405] "The figures should be taken with a note of caution because the sample of 51 teachers is rather small. Moreover, in some schools military officers also teach the boys but such schools were not part of this sample."Ibid, p.59.

[406]Ibid,p.55-9, the survey was conducted by Tariq Rahman between December 2002 and April 2003. In total, the study represents 243 teachers of English-medium schools, Cadet schools, public schools, and Madrasas. There were 618 students of English-medium schools, Cadet schools, public schools, and Madrasas. Pp.163-4. *https://www.researchgate.net/publication/271715758_Denizens_of_Alien_World_A_Study_of_Education_Inequality_and_Polarization_in_Pakistan*

[407] Uzma Anzar, "Islamic Education A Brief History of Madrassas With Comments on Curricula and Current Pedagogical Practices", Draft, *Op.Cit.* p.14, PDF File, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1121703274255/1439264-1126807073059/Islamic_Education_Paper.pdf.

mosques with one teacher and one imam of the mosque.[408] To universalize primary education through a cost-effective approach mosque schools were launched to offer informal access to the primary school age children, particularly those residing in rural vicinities. These schools were opened in the traditional mosques of the villages or smaller communities with a trained PTC (primary teaching course) teacher along with the imam of the mosque, who would mainly share the responsibility of teaching. There are 13,763 mosque schools in Pakistan to provide educational needs particularly in areas where formal primary schools were not accessible in the adjacent locality. About 37,000 Masjid/Maktab schools were launched all over the country under the Education Policy and Implementation Program (1979). But most of these schools were either transformed into regular primary schools or shut down owing to the accessibility of conventional schools in the nearby locality. Out of 13,763 schools, 12,417 are in the rural regions while 1,346 are operating in the urban regions. In the rural areas, there are 71 schools that are only for girls; whereas there are 31 girls schools in the urban areas; in contrast, there are 12,314 schools for boys in the rural areas and 1,315 in the urban areas.[409] It was realized that various villages did not, in reality, have mosque buildings where classes could be organized. In these regions, separate mosque-school buildings were built, that were slightly different from standard school buildings. In various villages, therefore, mosque schools are precisely like another primary school with the exception that they provide classes up to grade 3 rather than grade 5.[410]

[408] Harona Jatoi, Islam Baloch, and Sabir Hussain, "Mosques and Primary Schools, A comparative Study", *Academy of Educational Planning and Management, Ministry of Education Islamabad*, May 1998, p.1, PDF File, http://library.aepam.edu.pk/Books/Mosque%20and%20Primary%20School%20(A%20Comparative%20Study).pdf

[409] "13,763 mosque schools in country", *Dawn*, April 11, 2004,https://www.dawn.com/news/393364

[410] Haris Gazdar, *Policy Failure, Political Constraints and Political Resources: Basic Education in Pakistan*, Asia Research Centre Working Paper 5, Collective for Social Science Research, p.22, http://www.researchcollective.org/Documents/ARC_WP5_Haris_Gazdar.pdf.

Chapter 4: Development of Madrassa Curriculum

- **Classification of Madrasas**
- **Elite Students in Madrasas**
- **Historical Roots of Ulama Positions**
- **Madrasa Curriculum**
- **The Superficial Integration**
- **Madrasa Pedagogy**
- **Inferiority of Women**
- **Women's Place in the Society**
- **Dr. Farhat Hashmi's Al-Huda International**
- **Madrasa Curriculum Indoctrinates "Otherness"**
- **Radical Elements in Madrasa Pedagogy**
- **Relations with Military Governments**
- **Risk of Imposing the National Curriculum in the Madrasa Curriculum**

Summary

- Madrasa is a social tradition that offers a welfare net to the deprived sections of the society and offers free education. However, rote memorization and corporal punishment is the norm of Madrasa pedagogy. Traditionalism and reliance on antiquated curricula are two significant aspects of Madrasas. Hence, its students are not well prepared for the present world. They do not learn how to connect with other groups in a culturally heterogeneous country and a mutually dependent global world.
- Studies published between 2004 and 2006 make obvious that the link between Madrasas and international terrorism is unsubstantiated at best and possibly nonexistent.[411] According to Mumtaz Ahmad, the Madrasa curricula largely are not *inherently extremist and violent in pedagogy or ambiance.* However, the worldview inculcated by Madrasa education promotes bigotry that can, in appropriate conditions, cause extremism, militancy, and violence. But the critical element here is *not*

[411] Ali Riaz, *Faithful Education, Madrassahs in South Asia*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2013), p.3.

Madrasa education as such, but the external circumstances that provide a context conducive to violence and militancy.[412]

The Madrasa curriculum's fiqh (related to the religious law) books were written in the medieval ages. The application of the rules and underlying principles of these books to modern problems is an extremely difficult task. The Arabic language and grammar books are obsolete as well. Madrasa curriculum inculcates the 12th-century worldview of *Muslim superiority*. Madrasa communities have not been prepared to update their central cognitive orientation, in which they consider non-Muslims and other Muslims' sects excluding themselves as ''other''. It may be that the combination of the Madrasa curriculum's bigotry and the radicalized parts of the national curricula will be the element that makes students more extremist and prone to violent action.

- The bureaucracies under western influence seek to bring Madrasas under government regulation. They are relentless in undermining culturally rooted Ulama's privileged right of authoritative religious knowledge. Therefore, Ulama find it essential to preserve the Madrasas as their primary establishments for the conservation and propagation of Islamic tradition.
- The real issue of reform or any qualitative modification in the Madrasa curriculum has always been avoided.
- Their morality is strictly medieval and patriarchal. The customs and attitudes are, at the very least, reinforced by traditional religious education in which women are indoctrinated with their '*inferiority*' from the start.
- Dr. Farhat Hashmi's AlHuda International, which was initially started with teaching at homes and afterward, as of today, she and her students are teaching both at homes and in institutions, both situated locally all over Pakistan and in foreign countries, other than via internet globally. Therefore, AlHuda International today is influentially competing in numbers with regular Madrasas students.
- The Madrasa curriculum remains exclusivist and does not accommodate the possibility of any doubt in the validity of its theological claims. It provides absolute affirmation of its own truth claims. Hence, any idea of "pluralism" or "relativism" in the context of the belief or ritualistic practices of Islam is unacceptable to the Ulama. Consequently, religious minorities are regarded as Dhimmis: recognizing the non-Muslims' legal status as citizens but also denying them as "full" citizens.
- Each sect of Ulama takes a radical position versus its rival and attempts to prove how divergent that group is from orthodox Islam. They are infected with "fratricidal sectarianism" that consider the Sunnis—that is, the Deobandis, Barelwis, Ahl-e-Hadith, and all others in-between—to be rivals of the Shias and set both Sunnis and Shias against the Ahmadis.[413]
- The governments have used Ulama for their own stability, by giving individual religious leaders significant positions and other benefits at the cost of mediocrity and development of Madrasas.
- In contrast to the general perception, a significant number of Madrasa students are from the affluent class. It becomes a self-perpetuating structure in that elite Madrasas draw worthier teachers and financially very influential students; these students will form an influential former students' network,

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[412] Mumtaz Ahmad and Mathew J. Nelson, *Islamic Education in Pakistan and Bangladesh*, *Trends in Tertiary Institutions,* NBR Project Report, (US Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, April, 2009), p.12. PDF File, http://www.cippusa.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Islamic-Education-in-Pak-Bangladesh.pdf

[413] Mumtaz Ahmad, Islamic Education in Pakistan and Bangladesh, Op.Cit. p.12, PDF File, http://www.cippusa.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Islamic-Education-in-Pak-Bangladesh.pdf

which further magnifies their influence and leaves the underprivileged behind.[414]Thus the classification on the basis of wealth determines the quality of education, both religious and worldly, in Pakistan.

Classification of Madrasas

Madrasas are based on sects in Pakistan and every sect has its own Madrasa network that is controlled by a board or *Wafaq.* Every board has its own system of education, holds exams and distributes certificates. Their five-year degree is recognized as equivalent to a Masters of Arts in Arabic and Islamic Studies. "As per decision of the Equivalence Committee of erstwhile University Grants Commission, the Higher Education Commission considers only Final Sanad “Shahadatul Almiya Fil Uloomal Arabia wal Islamia” awarded by its approved Wafaq/Tanzeem ul Madaris, Rabit-ul-Madaris and five individual Madaris as equivalent to Master’s degree in Arabic/Islamic Studies involving 16-year schooling for the purpose of teaching Arabic / Islamic Studies in Colleges / Universities and for pursuing higher studies."[415]There are five Wafaqs in Pakistan, and they are also members of Ittihad Tanzeemat Madaris Deenia (ITMD), an umbrella organization of Madaris established in 2003. These are

1. Wafaq-ul-Madaris Al-Arabia, Head Office at Multan (Deobandi)
2. Tanzeem-ul-Madaris Al-e-Sunnat, Head Office at Lahore (Barelvi)
3. Wafaq-ul-Madaris Al-Salfia, Head Office at Faisalabad. (Ahl-e-Hadith)
4. Wafaq-ul-Madaris Shia, Head Office at Lahore. (Athna Ashri Shia)
5. Rabita-ul-Madaris Al Islamia, Head Office at Lahore, (Jamaat-i-Islami)

Four of the five above-mentioned boards are categorized by sects; Deobandi, Barelvi, Shia, or Ahl-e-Hadith; a fifth board that belongs to Jamaat-i-Islami does not adhere to any particular sect. There are two main sects in Pakistan, Sunnis, and Shias. Roughly 15% of Pakistani Muslims are Shias. The Sunnis are the followers of the Hanafi school of thought. The majority Sunnis (around 50%) are Barelvi, by and large, a moderate group, which seeks to be inclusive of local rituals and customs. Those who follow the Deobandi school of thought (begun in the Indian town of Deoband, near Delhi), seek to purify Islam by rejecting "un-Islamic" aspects from culture and custom. The Ahl-e-Hadith (followers of the Prophet's Hadiths) also emphasize"purifying" the faith, but they do not follow any *fiqh* (religious jurisprudence), as opposed to the Hanafi fiqh;[416]instead, their jurisprudence is based on a literal reading of the Prophet's Hadiths.

“The Jamāʿat-i Islāmī, founded by Mawlana Abū al-Aʿlā Mawdūdī in 1941, magnified the scope of religious leadership in yet another way, appealing to those who were secularly educated and lacked the traditional madrasa training. Convinced that Muslims needed to abandon the medieval interpretations of their faith and focus on Qurʿān and *ḥadīth*, Mawdūdī taught a scripturalist, non-Ṣūfī style of Islam,

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[414] Masooda Bano, The Rational Believer, Choices and Decisions in the Madrasas of Pakistan, Op.Cit. p.94.

[415] *System and Procedure for Equivalence of Deeni Asnad*, hec.gov.pk/english/services/students/Documents/Mode%20of%20Education.docx

[416] Dr. Sayed Manazir Abbas Zaidi, *Madrasa Education in Pakistan: Controversies, Challenges, and Prospects*, Center for International and Strategic Analysis, SISA Report No.3, 2013, Pp.5-6. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/311913131_Madrassa_Education_in_Pakistan_Controversies_Challenges_and_Prospects

explicitly proposing Islam as a "system," and "a complete way of life", in contrast to the decadent, materialist West that was epitomized above all by the unregulated lives of women. The Jamāʿat-i Islāmī was founded as a highly selective core group who could bring society-wide change... Mawdūdī opposed Partition but ultimately immigrated to Pakistan, where the party, although small, has been influential."[417]

Elite Students in Madrasas

"The majority of Madrasas actually present an opportunity, not a threat. For young village children, it may be their only path to literacy. For many orphans and the rural poor, Madrasas provide essential social services: education and lodging for children who otherwise could well find themselves the victims of forced labor, sex trafficking, or other abuse."[418] Yet, in contrast to the general understanding that the madrasa community primarily focuses on poverty since the madrasa students belong to the poverty-ridden class, a sizeable fraction of madrasa students represent "families that are well off financially but who want their sons or daughters to have a "proper" religious grounding."[419] Massoda Bano observed that 10% of the students in Madrasas throughout the eight surveyed districts hailed from economically extremely wealthy classes and were sons and daughters of large-scale entrepreneurs and landlord families; such students were concentrated in elite Madrasas. Nearly 40% of the students registered in the hifz program in the elite Madrasas of Karachi were a member of monetarily wealthy families.[420]However, 60% of madrasa students hail from lower-middle-income people (less than Rs5,000-10,000[US$63-125] each month), 30% from deprived families (less than Rs5,000 [US$63] and 10%from upper-middle-income and rather wealthy families (Rs20,000 [US$250] and exceeding).[421]

Masooda Bano interviewed Ulama throughout the eight districts; they repeatedly told her of the association among renowned Ulama and the patrons from affluent business clans as being decisive to the development, strengthening, and existence of the elite Madrasas in Karachi. The great Madrasas of Karachi are therefore an outcome of not just the theological excellence of the revered Ulama but also of their tactical maneuvering to draw a substantial group of committed donors.[422] "The survey results illustrate that, once a successful alliance has been negotiated between Ulama and patrons, the rise of elite Madrasas is guaranteed. As expected within secular educational institutions, the survey of 110 Madrasas shows that the higher the madrasa is placed on the economic pyramid the higher the qualifications of its teachers; a larger percentage of them have received education abroad, and a higher number of them are involved in research and publications. The heads of five wafaqs had received education in foreign lands, and profiles of the Ulama heading the elite Madrasas included within the

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[417] Barbara D. Metcalf, "India", Twentieth Century to Partition, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, *http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/article/opr/t236/e0361#IndiaintheEighteenthCentury*

[419] Douglas Johnston, Azhar Hussain, and Rebecca Cataldi, Madrasa Enhancement and Global Security, A Model for Faith-Based Engagement, Op.Cit. p.42.

[420] Massoda Bano, The Rational Believer, Choices and Decisions in the Madrasas of Pakistan, op.Cit. p.104.

[421] Ibid, p.104.

[422] Ibid, p.77.

survey reveal that 80 percent had studied in the original Deoband madrasa or other parent schools and around 30 percent had gained education in universities in the Gulf and the Middle East as compared to none in the smaller Madrasas. The data show that, out of the three tiers of Madrasas surveyed, it was also the Ulama from elite Madrasas who were invited to give advice on national level government committees."[423] It is the mixture of proficiency and resources that assure the rise of the elite Madrasas. In due course, the elite format does turn out to be self-perpetuating as elite Madrasas draw worthier teachers, the best capable and financially very influential students, and wind up having an influential former students' network, which furthest magnifies their influence.[424]Like elite English-medium schools, here again, the elite tight control of better religious education further leaves the deprived section of the society less educated.

Historical Roots of Ulama's Positions

Historically, Madrasas have functioned as the base for educational accomplishments that sought to offer guidance on both religious issues and worldly matters. The comprehensive and real-world character of their curricula, which contained not only religious but also professional courses, yielded both religious scholars and skilled professionals, such as doctors, engineers, architects, teachers, and statesmen. According to Douglas M. Johnston (President Emeritus and founder of ICRD), Madrasas of the Subcontinent from the Middle Ages throughout the 16th century were unmatched in the world as institutes of advanced education. Certainly, it was European exposure to them that directed to the formation of the contemporary University system in the West. Many of the present traditions and customs of academia trace their origins to the Madrasas, ranging from mortarboards and tassels worn at graduation to the custom of subsidizing a chair in a particular field. However, with the beginning of British reign in 1857, Madrasas began to lose their authority.[425]

Historically, apart from British colonial atrocities, conservatism was hardened in reaction to the orientalists' biased approach as exemplified by The publication of derogatory views of the Prophet of Islam such as Sir William Muir's book "Life of Muhammad" published in 1861. "Christian missionaries who arrived in the wake of colonial adventures attacked Muslim beliefs in Prophet Muhammad and the Qur'an. They pointed to Islamic teachings on jihad, slavery, polygamy and the condition of Muslim women and claimed that Christianity was a superior religion, as it did not allow such beliefs and practices. Sometimes, the colonial administrators in British India, Egypt and North Africa also officially patronized debates organized by the Christian missions."[426] In reaction, the Ulama created fortifications. Anything coming from the West was perceived as threatening to the identity and authority of the Ulama. This trend resulted in justified building walls around Islam; everything outside was assumed to be impure, harmful, and potentially threatening for our religion.

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[423] Ibid, p.77-8.

[424] Ibid, p.94.

[425] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities" op.cit. p.2. https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf

[426] Muhammad Khalid Masud, "Islamic Modernism", in *Islam and Modernity*, *Key Issues and Debates,* Edited by Muhammad Khalid Masud, Armando Salvatore and Martin van Bruinessen, Op.Cit. P.241.

In a reaction to British colonization and due to a concern that they could lose their Muslim identity, these schools removed all subjects from their curricula that were considered to be secular or Western in nature. This has continued to the point where the mainstream emphasis at present is exclusively on routine mechanical repetition and memorization of the Qur'an and the study of Islamic doctrines.[427] With the reign of the colonial rulers, traditional education was increasingly marginalized. The British replaced the former educational system with a new formal structure, designed to match the British priorities. The British launched a system of public schools to educate people for managerial activities and separated the system of education into two distinct realms—religious and secular, or traditional and modern. The ensuing inequality of frameworks and intents between the syllabi of Madrasas and the secular schools gradually caused the elimination of Madrasa alumnae from the employment market.[428]The public educational system has been intensely supported by the government; the religious schools, primarily for political reasons, experienced insignificant official support. Their educational system was symbolic of traditional society, socially consistent, hierarchical and stable.[429] Religious schools managed to sustain a precarious survival by partially supporting themselves via private contributions.

"The reason for such neglect was the presumed ignorance of religious leaders in worldly affairs and their supposed incompetence as educators, which was stressed repeatedly by representatives of the state and of the public system. A closer look reveals, however, that this ignorance and incompetence were brought about by the state itself."[430]Historical wrongs, perceived prejudices, and oppression have formed a "culture of victimhood" that has actually detached Madrasa leaders from the outside world. Afraid that modern ideas and interactions with others might cause the loss of their religious and cultural identity, some mechanically discard modernization and the idea of coexistence. Conditioned by decades of fear, a lot of Madrasa teachers and officials challenge anyone with another view automatically, as an essential part of their identity. This atmosphere of aggression is perpetuated as these ideas are imparted to the students and their communities.[431]

"The challenges and consequences of modernity have no doubt hit the 'Ulama hard. Mass higher education and the impact of print and other media have made deep inroads into the 'Ulama's privileged access to authoritative religious knowledge even as the "reflexivity" of modernity, that is, the need to constantly adapt existing forms of knowledge, institutions, and social relations to relentless flows of information, poses severe challenges to the credibility of their discourses. The modern bureaucratic

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[427] Dr. Douglas M. Johnston, "Madrasa Reform in Pakistan: Challenges and Lesson Learned", Presentation Final Transcript at a Conference at Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, (Oct 8, 2014), ICRD, Upload 2018/01, p.1, PDF File, *https://icrd.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Madrasa-Reform-in-Pakistan-Final-Transcript.pdf*

[428] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities"op.cit. p.2. *https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf*

[429] Jamal Malik, Colonialization of Islam, Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan, Op.Cit. p.122.

[430] Ibid, p.123.

[431] Douglas Johnston, Azhar Hussain, and Rebecca Cataldi, *Madrasa Enhancement and Global Security, A Model for Faith-Based Engagement,* International Center for Religion & Diplomacy, December 2008, Washington DC. p.30.

state seeks to bring all areas of life under its regulation. And the transformative forces of global capitalism grow ever more relentless in undermining culturally rooted identities and social relations."[432]
"To the Ulama, for their part, the birth of Pakistan was an occasion to assume leadership roles that had eluded them for much of Islam's history, to reorient people's belief and practice not just through time-tested activities at the grassroots and by way of teaching and writing, but also through state legislation and public policy. There is much that is new in the ensuing competition among rival trends, but also in their continuing engagement with one another, and it would be inconceivable without the framework provided by what professes to be an Islam."[433] Historically, traditionalists (who were regarded as defenders of Islamic identity) have gained respected positions in newly independent countries. Professor Tamara Sonn of Georgetown University explores reasons for the rejection of reformers, the advocators of change, by Muslim societies. "The Islamic world had been deprived of its independence and resources by foreign powers who justified their actions by disparaging the cultures and abilities of the people they control. In this context, the reform movement that had been developing long before foreign domination began, was stifled. Traditional religious scholars became the symbol of all that is sacred and secure in society. Calls for reform by Muslim activists became almost indistinguishable from the contempt of foreign rulers. Islamic reformers could be and often were, accused of un-Islamic or anti-Islamic behavior, even collaboration with the enemy. In the aftermath of independence, this pattern became more complex. Traditional scholars became—in addition to being symbols of all that is sacred and secure in society—symbols of political legitimacy……[T]he boundaries of these newly independent countries were frequently imposed by the departing powers. In many cases they violated traditional boundaries, grouping together people who had little in common (as in Iraq and Pakistan) and separating people who were used to being together (as in Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan). These two factors made traditional religious scholars even more important. The traditional Islam they represented was often the only thing shared in common by diverse populations, and their stamp of approval could grant legitimacy to even the most non-traditional government."[434]This explains privileged positions of traditionalists with entrenched conservative views in the society. Those who considered Pakistan as the fortress of Islam stifled efforts for the development of thought, rationality, and modern ideas religiously.
To a certain extent, this state of affairs developed gradually, over a period of decades, through the interplay of two distinct phenomena. "The westernized elite who took over from the British colonial rulers had not much interest in searching for a fusion of Islamic ideals and scientific progress. Rather they espoused a system that permitted them to perpetuate themselves in power, never permitting true democracy to thrive. Our reactionary Ulama upheld a medieval approach toward religion that developed ever more distorted as Islam was hijacked as a political tool."[435] As a result, public understanding of the need for change and support for a change in traditional views are lacking. Today, most Pakistanis support conservatives' ideology. Yet most of them agree that society desperately needs improvement. Although change is inevitable, the Quran has stipulated that God will not change the condition of a people until they change what is in themselves. (13:11)

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[432] Qasim Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam, Custodians of Change*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), p.1-2.
[433] Qasim Zaman, *Islam in Pakistan A History*, Princeton University Press, 2018, Pp.265-6.
[434] Tamara Sonn, *A Brief History of Islam* (MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), p.152.
[435] Imran Khan, *Pakistan A Personal History* (Great Britain: Bantam Press, 2011), p.330.

According to Dr. Khalid Masud, former chairperson CII (Council of Islamic Ideology of Pakistan), there is no civil support for reform. He stated while answering questions about the decisions of the CII on child marriage, DNA, and polygamy: “Even those Ulama who condemn terrorism, support Taliban on the enforcement of [traditional interpretations of] Sharia. On these particular issues also, the Ulama support the CII position. This is the politics of law….There is no political will for reforms in Islamic law. Islamic modernism as a school of thought has lost its relevance today. The choice is not between moderates and extremists; it is between Islamists (that includes Jamaát-e-Islami and all religious parties) and secularists.”[436] He further stated that CII has completed its main task of reviewing sharia laws and discussing its role in future, “The CII completed a review of laws made between 1726 and 1990 and submitted its final report in 1996. The Council has followed two principles in reviewing the laws — repugnancy and implementation."[437] While explaining repugnancy Masud stated, "Repugnancy refers to Article 227 of the Constitution of Pakistan, which is often called 'repugnancy clause'.

Part IX: Islamic Provisions227Provisions relating to the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah.

(1) All existing laws shall be brought in conformity with the Injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah, in this Part referred to as the Injunctions of Islam, and no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to such Injunctions. CII was assigned to review all existing laws from this perspective that they are not repugnant to Islamic injunctions, i.e. are not opposed to or violate these laws. Conformity explained in this meaning allowed all such laws on which Islamic injunctions are silent."[438]

"The report submitted in 2008 updated reviews done till 2006. Approximately, more than 95 percent of existing laws were declared Islamic. The Council also recommended amendments and revision in those laws, which were not strictly in accordance with the Qurán and Sunnah. About the implementation of Fiqh (sectarian laws interpreted by the jurists), religious groups do not recognize ‘repugnancy’ as an authentic method. They consider Fiqh is Sharia. These interpretations have been done by the Imams, nobody can replace them. The CII recommendations are not discussed in the parliament because the Ulema do not recognize parliament’s authority to legislate Sharia. They simply demand the implementation of these recommendations. The government does not want to take the risk of taking these recommendations to the parliament because these recommendations may attract criticism from some quarters and this criticism may annoy religious groups.”[439]Likewise, Qasim Zaman, Professor of Near Eastern Studies and Religion at Princeton University, also stated that the Ulama have not only continued to counter —admittedly, with variable levels of keenness and accomplishment —the challenges of changing times; they have also been successful in boosting their influence, in widening their audiences, in having considerable input into public discourse. In several instances, they have also participated considerably in religio-political activities in contemporary Islam.[440] The Ulama in current decades have been increasingly honored in both social and political domains by Pakistani society in general.

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[436] Waqar Gillani, “There is no political will for reforms in Islamic law”, TNS The News on Sunday, March 23, 2014, *http://tns.thenews.com.pk/khalid-masud-on-cii/#.Vd3osflViko*

[437] Ibid.

[438] Muhammad Khalid Masud, “Re:” Received by Author, 27th December, 2018

[439] Waqar Gillani, “There is no political will for reforms in Islamic law”, TNS The News on Sunday, March 23, 2014, *http://tns.thenews.com.pk/khalid-masud-on-cii/#.Vd3osflViko*

[440] Qasim Zaman, The Ulama in Contemporary Islam, Custodians of Change, Op.Cit., p.2.

The primary interests of Ulama have shifted from critical inquiry and countering the challenges of time towards the maintenance of religious beliefs and cultivation of piety, their teachings are mainly limited to attain piety through the perfection of dress code and rituals. For this reason, their concentrations are focused on faith-related subjects and subjects like logic and philosophy are disregarded historically. Hence, their students are not able to develop critical thinking. Criticism is not considered to be constructive but rather, is regarded as heretical for many in the madrasa community. Masooda Bano has blamed the government for not providing Madrasas the motivation and opportunities to develop their approach to education. "The South Asian governments failed to transform the madrasa education system because they have not provided strong incentives to the Ulama to engage with the rationalist scholarship. The Ulama, in turn, failed to initiate internal reforms because their widespread following provides little incentive to invest in pursuing a new form of scholarship. However, as seen in the case of the Ulama of South Asia confronted by the British rule, religious beliefs are adjusted and reinterpreted but they are often not entirely abandoned. In order to understand the working of beliefs, it is therefore as important to understand the determinants of demand and conviction in religious belief as it is to recognize that beliefs do change in response to economic and political incentives."[441]

Madrasa Curriculum

The textbooks studied currently in most Madrasas of India and Pakistan consists of "Dars-i Nizami," a corpus whose insertion in Madrasas is credited to the influence of Mulla Nizam al-din Muhammad (d. 1748), the founder of the Farangi Mahall family of scholars in Lucknow in northern India. Many of these texts were being included in Indian Madrasas long before Nizam-ud-din's period, and a number of others were added after his death.[442] The texts were, in most instances, written between the ninth and eighteenth centuries, mostly by scholars of Iranian, Central Asian, and Indian origin. The subjects included in the Darsi-Nizami were fairly fluid until after the middle of the nineteenth century. Conceivably in reaction to the influence of Western approaches and institutions of education in British India, Dars-i-Nizami acquired a relatively standardized shape that was widely implemented as a curriculum.[443] Ebrahim Moosa, a leading scholar of contemporary Muslim thought and a Professor of Islamic Studies at the University of Notre Dame, described the limitation of the curriculum in regard to ignoring inclusivity as follows: "In earlier days, however, it appears that the curriculum was more tightly tethered to the social reality surrounding the madrasa. Centuries ago Madrasas possibly had more intellectual synergies and demonstrated a greater intellectual investment in the "secular" reality of their surroundings. The contemporary Madrasa focuses largely on salvation matters and restricts its intellectual ties to its immediate social reality. One reason for this state of affairs is because Madrasa communities adopt a narrow account of the meaning and end of knowledge while *ignoring an inclusive account of what knowledge is*."[444] Likewise, Qasim Zaman explicitly stated that "the primary concern at Deobandi—and most other Madrasas—has always been the conservation of the classical Islamic texts

[441] Massoda Bano, The Rational Believer, Choices and Decisions in the Madrasas of Pakistan, op.Cit. p.95-6.
[442] Qasim Zaman, "Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reform: The Madrasa in British India and Pakistan", Op.Cit. p.303
[443] Qasim Zaman, The Ulama in Contemporary Islam, Custodians of Change, Op.Cit. p.68.
[444] Ebrahim Moosa, *What is Madrasa?* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), p. 177.

and sciences as studied in Madrasas, not textual innovation."[445] Their stress further led to increased emphasis on the "purely religious sciences," such as hadith, law and legal theory, and the Quran and its exegesis from "ancillary sciences" like morphology and syntax, or the "rational sciences" like logic and philosophy.[446]

The curriculum is divided into two main sections: the Sharia-related sciences ('ulum naqliyyah) transmitted as a tradition from generation to generation, and the rational sciences ('ulum 'aqliyyah) learned by humans during their lifetime and which vary with time and place. In contrast to the current attitudes of the Ulama, before British colonialism, under Muhammad Ibn Tughlaq (1325-51), rational sciences *('ulum-e 'aqliyyah or ma'qulat*) were prevalent. Philosophy, logic, mathematics, astronomy, geometry, medicine, and even music were regarded as particularly significant. It was most common that the Islamic mystics (*Sufis*) played an exceptional role in inculcating knowledge. They were the ones who taught the '*aqliyyat*.[447] It is stated that throughout the rule of Tughlaq there were nearly 1,000 Madrasas in Delhi alone. At that time there was no fixed curriculum, and different teachers utilized different textbooks. The Madrasas mostly taught subjects like Qur'an, "hadith", and Arabic grammar, along with calligraphy, poetry, alchemy, astronomy, and geography.[448] In the past, Islamic education was often manipulated to reinforce and sustain "specific discourses of power"; as a result, the curriculum accomplished the desires of those who were in authority. Initially, under Akbar's rule (1556-1605) the Madrasa curriculum was reformed by Fatah Allah Shirazi (d.1589), a distinguished Iranian scholar of the court. Being himself a celebrated scholar of rational sciences, Shirazi laid emphasis on the rational sciences (m'aqulat) by supplementing the curriculum with more books on logic, philosophy, and scholasticism. The practice of teaching religious sciences also prospered. This tradition was supported by Sheikh Ahmed Sirhandi (d.1624), Sheikh Abdul Haq Muhadith Dehlvi (d.1641), Maulana Abdul Rahim (d.1718) and his son Shah Wali Ullah (d.1762). Their restrictive reformist elements were aimed at eliminating presumed *un-Islamic practices* among Muslims and disseminating scriptural Islam, with stress on religious sciences manqulat, i.e. traditionally transferred materials from generation to generation. At the same time, the previous trend of teaching the m'aqulat, i.e. Interpreting religious sciences through reasoning, was maintained and advocated by the house of Farangi Mahal, Lucknow. Mullah Nizamuddin Sihalwi (d.1748) of Farangi Mahall, strengthened rationalist tradition in the Madrasa curriculum at Farangi Mahal according to the Dars-i-Nizami model.[449] "Mullah Nizamuddin tried to keep the Dars-i-Nizami in a neutral tone, so it could not develop sectarian bias among the students. For that matter, in addition to the emphasis on logic and philosophy, he kept those books on fiqh which were written logically and presented fiqhi debates on rational arguments. In the field of tafsir (the exegesis of the Quran), his preference was Allama Qadi Nasr al-Din Baidawi's (d. 1285/86) Anwar al-Tanzil fi Asrar al-Ta'wil, commonly known as Baidawi, which is an amended version of al-Kashshaf of Allama Jar Allah

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[445] Qasim Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam*, Custodians of Change, Op.Cit. p.69.
[446] Ibid, p.70.
[447] Ibid, p. 122.
[448] Douglas Johnston, Azhar Hussain, and Rebecca Cataldi, Madrasa Enhancement and Global Security, A Model for Faith-Based Engagement, op.cit. p.40.
[449] Muhammad Farooq, "Disciplining the Feminism: Girls' Madrasa Education in Pakistan", *The Historian*, Government College University Lahore, p.68, PDF File, http://gcu.edu.pk/FullTextJour/Hist/V3N205/P64-88.pdf.

Zamakhshari (d.1134), a mut'azilite.[450] Keeping the holistic view of education, Mulla Nizamuddin did not base the Dars on a dichotomy of the religious and the secular – the colonial notion which the colonial and post-colonial 'Ulama adopted. It is true that Dars-i-Nizami was more inclined towards rational sciences, but it could not be termed secular. The Dars-i-Nizami became more religious in the late 19th and 20th centuries, but the basic framework for the formulation of learning remained the same."[451] Dars-i-Nizami became a milestone in the history of Muslim education in India and was espoused by the Sunni Madrasas of the Subcontinent, although they made some adjustments, specifically after the second half of the nineteenth century. Dars-i-Nizami was intended to prepare bureaucrats and to satisfy the demand of an 'increasingly sophisticated and complex bureaucratic system' in India.[452] Throughout the colonial period, the Christian missionaries increased their efforts and the Ulama and Muslim education were shorn of state support synchronized with anti-Muslim policies by the colonials.

The traditional Madrasa curriculum is, therefore, restrained, lacks originality, and concentrates greatly on commentaries on ancient scholars' works. The fiqh books that are being taught in Madrasas today were frequently written in the medieval ages. For instance, most Deobandi Madrasas teach Al-Hidaya Sharah Badaya-tu-Al Mubtadi, written by Burhan-ud-Din Abi Al-Hasan Ali Ibn-e-Abi Bakar Al Murghiyani, who died in 593 Hijri i.e. 1196 AD. The other book of Fiqh that is being taught in Madrasas (mostly Ahl-e-Hadith), is Bidayat-ul Mujtahid, written by Ibn-e-Rushd AlHafid, who died in 595 Hijri i.e. 1199 AD.[453] Nevertheless, the analytical interrogations that were part of the old texts directed Islamic tradition to its pinnacle, and are missing in existing curriculum and pedagogy. Ebrahim Moosa points out that the lack of understanding of the value of criticism, critical thinking, and the uncompromising position on the comprehensiveness of fiqhi matters is a predominant feature of madrasa communities. "I initially held out the hope that the proper application of fiqh would create an ideal Muslim society, only to find out that it would take far more than law to change society. It was struggling to come to terms with what passes as the execution of Shari'a practices involving gruesome amputations and floggings. I now believe that norms are culture-specific and that there are other ways to deter murder, theft, and sexual violations. There were few teachers with whom one could air such concerns and doubts. Senior professors would try to douse such questions by reminding me of the dire spiritual and theological hazards awaiting the one who was engaged in such thinking. Challenging the authority of canonical

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[450] "The Muʿtazilah were a major theological school of Islam that was renowned for holding reason (*ʿaql*) above scripture and other sources of religious knowledge and for its development of the method of dialectical theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*). It emerged from obscure origins in the middle of second/eighth century and lasted as an independent school into the sixth/twelfth century. The origin of the term Muʿtazilah—meaning those who set themselves apart or those who stand aside—remains as little known as that of the school itself. One account relates how Wāṣil b. ʿAtāʿ (d. AH131/748–749 CE), or his student ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd (d. AH144/761 CE), set himself apart (*iʿtazala*) from the study circle of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. AH110/728 CE) in disagreement about the status of the grave sinner. Despite its unfounded historicity, this story was widely circulated, by both the Muʿtazilah and others, in explanation of their origins and name." Racha el Omari, "Muʿtazilah", Oxford Islamic Studies Online, *http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/article/opr/t236/e1073?_hi=0&_pos=1*

[451] Muhammad Farooq, "Disciplining the Feminism: Girls' Madrasa Education in Pakistan", Op.Cit. P.69, PDF File, http://gcu.edu.pk/FullTextJour/Hist/V3N205/P64-88.pdf.

[452] Ibid, p.68-9.

[453] Jamia Darul Uloom Karchi, Syllabus at a Glance, *http://darululoomkarachi.edu.pk/ur/?page_id=6%23oZKPIRgl%23GGrqlbUx#UYscxGBb* Accessed April 20, 2018. The author was taught Bidayat-ul-Mujtahid at Jamia Fatima-tu-Zahra, a women's Salafi Madrasa in Karachi.

teaching supported by the consensus of past scholars could invite denunciation and charges of anathema (kufr). Needless to say, such questions never really left me; rather they have framed my interrogation of the inherited practices of tradition." [454]

Arabic is not taught as an existing language. The Arabic books are obsolete essays on grammar in rhymed stanzas. One of the best known among them, Kafia Ibn-e-Malik, is abstruse and is taught through a commentary called the Sharah Ibn-e-Aqil. In Madrasas, students must memorize the rhymed stanzas from the primeval texts along with their descriptions. Thus, the commentary often induces fear in students' hearts and a source of pride for the teacher. Several texts are in Persian, which is also memorized; the student, in general, fails to relate his knowledge to the existing language. Some ancient texts, such as the Mizbah-ul-Nahv, are explained in Urdu. But in this case, the Urdu is much arabicized. The description is not colloquial as it is written for specialized scholars and would not be understood generally.[455] The teaching of language skills in the Madrasas is mostly centered on translation techniques and emphasizes elucidation of simple grammatical rules and methods. The teachers require memorization and do not engage students in any type of dialog or ask them to develop examples that utilize their previous knowledge. The class work is basically the inculcation of the teacher-stated information. Arabic and Persian in Madrasas are taught as "dead" languages and, consequently, the teachers translate the academic material of textbooks in addition to their interpretations into Urdu. They also write the meaning of difficult or newly introduced words on the chalkboard for students to copy into their individual notebooks and learn by rote. Generally, throughout study periods, more interaction is in Urdu than in Arabic or Persian. Hence, the students just become skilled at reading and, to some extent, comprehending important religious literature in Arabic or Persian, but do not gain enough linguistic competency for oral or written communication in these languages.[456] Taqi Usmani (Deobandi Figurehead and Leading Islamic Finance Scholar in Pakistan), has admitted that the standard of knowledge in Madrasas has deteriorated and Madrasa graduates cannot keep up with the swiftness of the external world. While stating the importance of the Arabic language in Madrasas, he noted that even the best intellectual students at Madrasas can only read Arabic, but are not fluent in speaking or writing it. In our education system, maximum class time is spent on the theoretical aspects of grammar; students know about its philosophies but do not experience its practical usage.[457]

Yusuf Banuri (1908-77), a renowned alim (religious scholar), supported the 'modern' sciences (*jaded ulum*) and focused on two points. First, he advocated substituting new books for the classical books in the curriculum. In debates of curriculum reform within religious circles, the existing curriculum was considered deficient in training students to cope with the problems of the modern world, which is

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[454] Ebrahim Moosa, What is Madrasa? Op.Cit. p.22.

[455] Tariq Rahman, "Language, Religion and Identity in Pakistan: Language-Teaching in Pakistan Madrassas", Ethnic Studies Report, Vol. XVI, No. 2, July 1998, available on Research Gate website, p.200-1, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265146936_Language_Religion_and_Identity_in_Pakistan_Language-Teaching_in_Pakistan_Madrassas

[456] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, *The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities"* op.cit. p.120. https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf

[457] Misbahur Rehman, "Reforms in Pakistani Madrasas: Voices from Within", in *Reforms in Islamic Education, International Perspective,* Ed. Charlene Tan, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2015), p.108.

always progressing in its scientific developments, thoughts, and psychology. Such progress has implications for Islamic law. New ideologies have created a desire for new Islamic theology. If the miracle of the prophets can change with time, (as the miracles given to each prophet were related to the context and need of the time and area) then why can't the curriculum?, Banuri maintains that the existing curriculum consists mostly of books written in the Middle Ages, a period in which Islamic sciences began declining. It was a trend at that time to engage in wordplay while writing abridgments. These books have done the greatest harm to Islam. At present, more time is consumed trying to interpret the wordplay, rather than comprehending the meaning of the religious texts. The curriculum is fully supplied with the original texts and their associated commentaries and annotations are excessively detached from contemporary needs. As stated by Banuri, fiqh, theology, philosophy, and Arabic literature are the subjects that should be modernized. Banuris's second point is to include subjects that were not incorporated in the Madrasa curriculum earlier. He considers the existing curriculum is in urgent need of modern sciences. Banuri believes that whether a subject is 'religious' or 'worldly' depends on the underlying purpose of studying the subject. For instance, 'worldly' knowledge can be as useful as religious sciences if studied for the service of human beings. In contrast, if religious sciences are studied with the incentive of receiving wealth, they would be reduced to being considered 'worldly'. As such, if students of 'worldly' sciences used these sciences for the services of the people, the students will probably accrue more religious merit than religious scholars in the hereafter.[458] In the past, "Muslim scientists believed that such (scientific) exploration was a religious duty as it encouraged a deeper understanding of and appreciation for God's creation, including human life and wellbeing. Many fields of mathematics, including algebra and trigonometry, and of science, ranging from astronomy and optics to surgery, owe their origins and development to Muslim scientists and physicians who built upon the heritage of ancient Greece and transmitted it to the West. In the classical era, there was no conflict between Islam and science; rather, scientific exploration was viewed as a means of expressing and deepening faith."[459] Nevertheless, even though Banuri founded the Jamia Uloom-e-Islamia Banuri Town and Taqi Usmani is the son of the celebrated Grand Mufti Maulana Muhammad Shafi Usmani, who founded the Jamia Dar-ul-Uloom Karachi (the oldest and most prestigious traditional Madrasas in Pakistan their ideas did not influence the Madrasa community at large.

Masooda Bano observes that since many senior Ulama believe knowledge necessitates the quest for truth for its own sake, they are not concerned with giving their students the kind of education that guarantees employment. The walls of numerous Madrasas visited throughout her research were inscribed with quotes stressing the quest for Islamic knowledge in the pursuit of knowledge, and not as a process of employment. The Ulama also frequently stated the pragmatic reasons behind restrictions of the recommended reform plans, as the incorporation of worldly subjects in the curriculum after matriculation level was reasoned to produce Madrasa graduates succeeding in neither religious nor secular education. In the view of Maulana Jalandhari (2006), secretary of Wafaq-ul-Madaris Al-Arabia: "Today is the time of takhassus [specialization]. Every teaching institution selects the curriculum according to its objectives. No one questions why a doctor graduating from King Edwards College is also

[458] Yusuf Banuri, *Dini Madaris ki Zarorat aur Jadid Taqadhon ke Mutabiq Nisab o Nizam e Talim*, (Karachi: Bait al Ilm, 2000), pp.38-9, as referred by Ibid, p.109.

[459] John L. Esposito, Natana J. Delong-BAS, *Sharia, What Everyone Needs to Know*, op.cit. p.260.

not an 'alim, the same should hold for the Madrasas. Specialization in religious subjects' demands devoted scholarship that cannot sustain the inclusion of secular subjects at the higher levels without seriously compromising the quality of religious education taught within Madrasas."[460] However, in my opinion, the Madrasa community should produce informed citizens; they don't need to become doctors or engineers but should be able to interact with the world. Therefore, learning skills, critical thinking, comprehension, and languages would upgrade the intellect and enable students to specialize in any field of knowledge. According to Ebrahim Moosa, "there is a fundamental absence of grasping the fact that knowledge of science, math, civics, sociology, politics, economics, and history in addition to languages and skills is all part of one's basic equipment and literacy in today's world. Many Madrasa authorities misunderstand and think calls for curricular reform means they have to become specialists in science or politics."[461]Hence, generally, Ulama resists the government of Pakistan's reform movements, which the Ulama regard as intended to secularize and commercialize Madrasas. The Ulama predominantly oppose any kind of reform in the curricula of the madrasa. Their motto usually is *dini madaris ke nisab men kissi tabdilil ki darurat nahi*[462](there is no need for any moderation in the Madrasa curriculum).

The second half of the 19th century witnessed the emergence of various maslaks (cults) in South Asian Islam along with Madrasas connected with these maslaks, which asserted the need to shield Muslim identity and safeguard Islamic tradition. The most celebrated of these Madrasas was Dar ul-'Ulum at Deoband, a town in Northern India. The Deoband Madrasa architects acknowledged British rule, at least in the latter decades of the 19th century, as a fait accompli and by recognizing the colonial notion that religion was a personal affair. However, the British colonials manipulated ordinary Indian Muslims by substituting Persian with Urdu as a medium of education in the Madrasas. The Deoband Madrasa educational movement was reformist in its orientation but not in encouraging scholarship in the modern sciences among the Muslims. They reformed their system of education but not the epistemology of knowledge. The movement attempted to *"purify"* Islam by wiping out the un-Islamic customs in the Indian Muslim community. Even though the Ulama at Deoband espoused fundamental premises of Dars-i-Nizami for the curriculum of Dar ul-'Uloom, they inserted some critical modifications that transformed the texture of the Dars-i-Nizami. The Dars-i-Nizami laid emphasis on rational sciences. However, the curriculum in Deoband and other Madrasas, which surfaced after 1857, supported manqulat, i.e. traditionally transferred religious sciences' materials from earlier generations.[463] Most of these religious and socio-political transforms that happened in the 19th and the 20th century British India made a profound impression on the Madrasa curriculum, particularly on Dars-i-Nizami. Almost every Muslim Madrasas of India, regardless of their sectarian associations, exulted in adopting and teaching the Dars curriculum, once they had made changes in accord with their own maslaks' wants. The initial Dars was a shrewd merging of manqulat and maqulat (rational sciences). It was an inclusive curriculum for preparing the students, not merely for a career as a bureaucrat or prayer leaders, but also providing them skills to become literate-secular persons in non-Muslim mainstream society. Nevertheless, it became a singular instrument for defining Muslim identity and reached to the lower stratums of Muslim

[460] Massoda Bano, The Rational Believer, Choices and Decisions in the Madrasas of Pakistan, op.Cit. p.54
[461] Ebrahim Moosa, *What is a Madrasa*, The University of North Carolina Press, 2015, Chapel Hill, p. 202.
[462] Jamal Malik, Colonialization of Islam, Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan, Op.Cit. p.138.
[463] Ibid, p.70.

society who were, up till now, generally not entitled to obtain higher education.[464] "The Madrasas of the Indian subcontinent appear to have reached their peak from the 16th century to the 18th century when the Dars-e-Nizami syllabus was consolidated. The curriculum was cutting-edge for its time in its emphasis on logic, philosophy, and critical thinking."[465]

Currently, the prevailing Madrasas are disengaged from the modern world; hence they are incapable of offering appropriate guidance to society. "A major reason for the decline in the Ulama's influence in the country," Muhammad Ali Mongiri wrote, "is the popular perception that they have withdrawn into their cells and know nothing about the state of the world so that in worldly matters their guidance is entirely unworthy of attention."[466] "Madrasa representatives often claim they are committed and qualified only to serve a very discrete religious discourse. They often refute the accusation that they prevent Muslims, especially madrasa graduates, from expanding their intellectual horizons into other domains of knowledge. However, the reality is that very few madrasa graduates are encouraged to access learning beyond what the madrasa offers."[467] A traditionalist scholar, Muhammad Aslam Qasmi, himself a madrasa graduate and the great-grandson of Nanautvi, a co-architect of the prestigious Deoband seminary has challenged the otherworldly strategy of Madrasa education. He maintains that monasticism has no point in Islam, quoting a hadith of the Prophet Muhammad. This leads him to question why the Madrasas "have embraced intellectual monasticism." Even worse, he notes, is when the Madrasas refuse to offer any serious curricular opportunities to equip students with modern knowledge and life skills. In his view, this degree of asceticism has been detrimental to Muslim interests overall and has relegated religious thought to mediocrity.[468]

In the early 1980s, several madrasa boards incorporated some "secular" subjects into their curricula. For instance, the Wafaq al-Madaris al-Arabia's syllabus obliges its students up to grade eight to study Urdu, social studies, and arithmetic. The Tanzim al-Madaris al-Arabi requires history, geography, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy to be taught at several levels in Madrasas. The Wafaq al-Madaris al-Salafia curriculum lists English, Pakistan studies, general science, and general mathematics courses as a must for its students up to grade ten. In the level equivalent to FA (grades eleven and twelve leading to a diploma, generally stated as intermediate), the students are obliged to take courses on economics and civics, and in the level equivalent to the bachelor's degree, the students are obliged to complete a course on political science. As stated by the documents of these boards, Madrasas are supposed to use the books specified by the national textbook board in teaching these secular subjects, to assure that the students are obtaining knowledge equivalent to the government-run schools.[469]

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[464] Ibid, p.71.

[465] Douglas Johnston, Azhar Hussain, and Rebecca Cataldi, Madrasa Enhancement and Global Security, A Model for Faith-Based Engagement, op.cit. p. 40.

[466] Muhammad Qasim Zaman, "Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reform: The Madrasa in British India and Pakistan", Op.Cit. p.306.

[467] Ebrahim Moosa, *What is a Madrasa*, Op.Cit. p. 202.

[468] Ibid, p.202

[469] Ali Riaz, Faithful Education Madrassahs in South Asia, Op.Cit. p.82-4.

The Superficial Integration

The government of Pakistan issued an educational policy in 1979 in an official note, for the first time explicitly recommending the establishment of religious institutions to teach modern subjects combined with specializations in religious disciplines and General Zia al-Haq assigned a Madrasa Reform Commission. Even though the physical structure of the Madrasas and their organization has been restructured, the basic curriculum of subjects remains approximately the same in spite of the discussions regarding the question of whether or not to add new subjects. For example, there have been debates regarding whether or not education in science and English are needed, in addition to in the history of Islam and the philosophy of Shah Waliullah (d. 1762).[470] Hence, reform or any qualitative modification in the Madrasa curriculum is always a great issue that has always been avoided. As Dr. Mumtaz Ahmad laments "the reform package promised to provide Madrasas with all kinds of facilities to facilitate the teaching of English, natural sciences and computer skills, the assumption being that these subjects would orient the madrasa students toward more modern, liberal attitudes and behavior."[471] The incentive for a new curriculum just combines National Curriculum textbooks—many of them of poor quality and prejudiced against minorities—with the prevailing curricula in Madrasas. The actual issue in Madrasas is not that students do not study computers and natural sciences. Several Madrasas, Darul Uloom, and Jamia do teach these subjects.[472]

"GOP's (Government of Pakistan's) attempts can be characterized as sweeping measures to incorporate secular education into the traditional madrasa curriculum—backed by a strong, military regime, but without any coordination with (or support from) the religious establishment. Even the strength of military rule under Field Marshal Ayub Khan (1958-1969), General Zia ul-Haq (1977-1988), and General Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008) proved insufficient to force the Ulama to accept undesired reforms. This same reality also prevailed in the wake of 9/11, when the United States gave the GOP $100 million for education reform. The Madrasas, which are independently funded (most of them locally, some from the Gulf), refused to participate for fear of losing their independence or of being forced to secularize their curriculums."[473] The failure of the governments' efforts to incorporate the national school curriculum in Madrasas, raised the question of whether mere inclusion of modern subjects in Madrasa education can necessarily prevent the development of an extremist mindset among Madrasa graduates. However,

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[470] So Yamane, "The rise of new Madrasas and the decline of tribal leadership within the Federal Administrated Tribal Area (FATA), Pakistan", *The Moral Economy of the Madrasa Islam and education today*, Ed. Sakurai Keiko and Fariba Adelkhah, (New York: Routledge, New Horizons in Islamic Studies, 2014), p. 19.

[471] Mumtaz Ahmad, Mumtaz Ahmad and Matthew J. Nelson, Islamic Education in Bangladesh and Pakistan, Trends in Tertiary Institutions, Op.Cit. p.5, PDF File, *http://www.cippusa.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Islamic-Education-in-Pak-Bangladesh.pdf*.

[472] Christopher Candland, "Pakistan's Recent Experience in Reforming Islamic Education," in *Education Reform in Pakistan: Building for the Future*, ed. Robert M. Hathaway (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars), p.162.

[473] Dr. Douglas M. Johnston, Madrasa Reform in Pakistan: Challenges and Lesson Learned, Presentation Final Transcript at a Conference at Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, p.1-2, *https://icrd.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Madrasa-Reform-in-Pakistan-Final-Transcript.pdf*

according to statistics, extremist mindsets are emerging from public and private schools in Pakistan, even though they all teach modern subjects. The great majority of the Madrasas are not engaged in extremist activity or paramilitary training. (Roughly 15 percent of Pakistan's Madrasas moralize "violent jihad" according to Dr. Douglas Johnston, Azhar Hussain, and Rebecca Cataldi).[474]Some 40 percent of Urdu medium schools and 26 percent of English medium school students support the war to reclaim Kashmir. Similarly, 33 percent of Urdu medium schools and 22 percent of English medium school students support jihadi groups efforts to reclaim Kashmir, as compared with 53 percent of madrasa students.[475] Moreover, the study by the US Commission on International Religious Freedom found that only about 60 percent of the teachers and an identical proportion of the students in public schools regard non-Muslims to be Pakistani citizens. Nearly all teachers and most of the students also believed jihad to be obligatory and necessarily violent. Approximately 80 percent of teachers viewed non-Muslims as the enemies of Islam. The majority of students viewed non-Muslims as the enemies of Islam.[476]These statistics indicate that a radical mentality cannot be eliminated simply by inserting secular subjects in the madrasa curriculum. Besides, a number of studies have revealed that terrorists with modern education have proven more dangerous than traditionally educated extremists. For example, according to Bergen and Pandey, "there is little or no evidence that Madrasas produce terrorists capable of attacking the West. We examined the educational backgrounds of 75 terrorists behind some of the most significant recent terrorist attacks against Westerners. We found that a majority of them are college-educated, often in technical subjects like engineering."[477] Hence, natural science education is not an assurance of an enlightened intellect. Certainly, several of those most dedicated to violence in the name of Islam were educated in the natural sciences. The actual issue in these schools is that students do not learn how to live with other groups in a culturally heterogeneous country and a globally mutually dependent world.

Madrasa Pedagogy

In many Madrasas, a strict emphasis on religious studies often disregards "contemporary" subjects, for instance, math and the sciences. The pedagogy focuses on mechanical obedience to the teacher and rote memorization of the Quran in Arabic (a language rarely comprehended by school-age students in Pakistan). Further, sectarian ideologies are often imparted in a manner that allows the little possibility for the perception or recognition of other sects, religions, or cultures. This method tends to harvest graduates who are ill-prepared to deal with the challenges of modernity, have insufficient financial opportunities, and who may be vulnerable to influence by ideologues.[478] The Madrasas' teachers seldom

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[474] Douglas Johnston, Azhar Hussain, and Rebecca Cataldi, *Madrasa Enhancement and Global Security, A Model for Faith-Based Engagement,* International Center for Religion & Diplomacy, December 2008, Washington DC., p.30.

[475] Misbahur Rehman, "Reforms in Pakistani Madrasas: Voices from Within", in *Reforms in Islamic Education, International Perspective*, Edited by Charlene Tan, Op.Cit. p.102.

[476] Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), "Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas", Op.Cit. p.106. *https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf*

[477] Peter Bergen and Swati Pandey, "The Madrassa Myth", *New York Times*, OP-ED Contributor, June 14, 2005, http://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/14/opinion/the-madrassa-myth.html

[478] Douglas Johnston, Azhar Hussain, and Rebecca Cataldi, *Madrasa Enhancement and Global Security, A Model for Faith-Based Engagement,* International Center for Religion & Diplomacy, December 2008, Washington DC., p.30.

accept tactics to expand or change the curricular subjects or produce new epistemological visions. When they do occur, such infrequent attempts are limited only to restricted topics. For example, the Madrasas' staffs generally attempt to use religious wisdom to evaluate current sociopolitical events or find techniques to rebut foreign ideas, heretical beliefs, and interpretations of other sects. They mostly consider the revealed religious knowledge to be the most authentic, trustworthy, and unlikely to be questioned or altered. Therefore, they inspire students to learn by rote without even the least divergence from the scriptures.[479]"The teaching style of a typical teacher in a Pakistani Madrasa, especially in lower grades, is very autocratic and little children are punished for not conforming to the rules and regulations. Severe corporal punishment is the norm, which results in high dropout rates."[480]Standardized exams appear to significantly influence the educational praxis in Madaris. They mostly necessitate written answers to essay-type questions and students are assessed on the precision with which they have memorized and reproduced the course book information.[481] At the tertiary grades, Madrasas are particularly unwilling to initiate any modifications, given their emphasis on producing Ulama well-versed in traditional Islamic learning and law. In response to survey inquiries regarding the Madrasa syllabus, the vast majority of respondents (91.5% teachers and 77.1% students) agreed with the statement that the current system of Madrasa education in Pakistan is satisfactory and does not require any modifications. However, a majority of teachers (57.1%) and students (65%) were of the view that Madrasas should also incorporate science courses in their syllabus. Given the Madrasa teachers' near absolute satisfaction with the present curriculum, the concession pertaining to the insertion of science courses on their part appears cosmetic, as discussed above. The further inquiry made it evident that the Ulama were ready to introduce a basic general science class for elementary students only.[482] This is despite the fact that various notable scholars like Shibli Nu'mani (1914-1957) were in favor of greater integration of western languages and sciences. A fervent supporter of Islamic education reform, Nu'mani recommends a solution. "I have said it repeatedly, and say it once more, for us Muslims mere English [modern] education is not sufficient, nor does the old Arabic madrasa education suffice. Our ailment requires a 'compound panacea' (*ma'jun-i-murakkab*)—one portion eastern and the other western."[483] "Ashraf Ali Thanvi, on the other hand, believed the 'Ulama are not only the repositories but also the genuine carriers of the DNA required for Muslim identity, namely,

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[479] Akhtar Hassan Malik, *A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan*, op.cit. pp.117. https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf

[480] Uzma Anzar, "Islamic Education A Brief History of Madrassas With Comments on Curricula and Current Pedagogical Practices", Draft, *Op.Cit.* p.17, PDF File http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1121703274255/1439264-1126807073059/Islamic_Education_Paper.pdf.

[481] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities" op.cit. p.114. https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf

[482] Mumtaz Ahmad, Mumtaz Ahmad and Matthew J. Nelson, Islamic Education in Bangladesh and Pakistan, Trends in Tertiary Institutions, Op.Cit. p.5, PDF File, http://www.cippusa.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Islamic-Education-in-Pak-Bangladesh.pdf.

[483] Nu'mani, Muhammad Shibli, "Mulla Nizam al-Din 'alayhi al-rahma." In Maqalat-i-Shibli, edited by Sayyid Sulaiyman Nadvi. 8 vols. Vol.3, p.126. Referred by [483] Ebrahim Moosa, *What is a Madrasa*, Op.Cit. p.221.

faith-based teachings. Parochialism, with strong doses of 'Ulama paternalism and orthodoxy, was Thanvi's panacea to the challenges of a modern Muslim identity. Prevalent in most Madrasas are Thanvi-type views, irrespective of Deobandi, Barelvi, or Ahl-i-Hadith affiliations, groups that might otherwise be hostile towards him on theological grounds."[484]

Inferiority of Women

At present, the main crux of Madrasa education is moral values. However, the morality taught is strictly medieval and patriarchal. The customs and attitudes are, at the very least, reinforced by traditional religious education in which women are indoctrinated with their '*inferiority*' from the start. In conservative religious education, they are described as *naqis-ul-aqal* (intellectually deficient). Thus, males have 16-years schooling in Madrasas whereas women receive only 4-6 years of education. As Ebrahim Moosa reports, for instance: "The curriculum designed for women is a reduced version of the [traditional Pakistani] Nizami curriculum…..At the Madrasa 'A'isha in Lahore, it is reduced to four years…. Many of the philosophy, logic, and advanced Arabic literary texts are not taught in the women's Madrasas."[485]

Up until the liquidation of Muslim supremacy in India, the Muslim learning institutions were not only educating the students to be religious educators/intellectual or prayer leaders but also thrived as the pre-service schooling academy for the civil services. As the state bureaucracy was completely staffed by men, their gender prejudices (inherent in the structure of the civil service system) became incorporated into the curriculum and organization of Madrasas. Women were automatically regarded as unentitled to higher Islamic education. Educated women had no place in the public arena, so there was no requirement for higher education institutions serving women. Women were regarded as only requiring elementary religious education for private use. However, after the 1970s a number of madaris including girls' Madarsas set up by different Muslim sects emerged in Pakistan.[486] In the Deoband Madrasas of Pakistan for women, modern subjects are imparted throughout the first eight years of education. The curriculum for girls' Islamic religious education is planned and executed by Wafaq ul- Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan (the education board of Deobandi Madrasas) which is liable for formulating preparations for exams at different levels and granting certificates and degrees. Many Madrasas join religious education with modern subjects to varying degrees as mandated by the pertinent wafaq board. In so doing, the board plays the primary role in furthering literacy, in addition to Islamic consciousness, among Muslim young women. These young women, in turn, shape the most educationally poor faction of the Pakistani society.[487] All sects in Pakistan, nowadays, have girls' Madrasas as well as boys'; but curriculum is not equivalent to both the sexes. It appears as if boys and girls are not at parity in terms of religious education they require and possibly in intellect. For example, the syllabus is more relaxed for girls than for boys. A perfunctory comparison of madrasa curriculum for banin (boys) and binaat (girls) reveals that girls receive less religious education than boys.[488] The following table shows the comparison of

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[484] Ebrahim Moosa, *What is a Madrasa*, Op.Cit. p.223.
[485] Ibid, p. 162-3.
[486] Muhammad Farooq, "Disciplining the Feminism: Girls' Madrasa Education in Pakistan", Op.Cit. p.71, PDF File, *http://gcu.edu.pk/FullTextJour/Hist/V3N205/P64-88.pdf*.
[487] Ibid, p.72.
[488] Ibid, p. 73.

Deobandi women's madrasa courses of studies with boys', it is easy to spot that many books on Islamic learning are excluded from the girls' curriculum.

At present, women Madrasas are not inclined to produce a female mufti (who has the entitlement to give religious edict or fatwa) or faqiha (a woman expert in the Islamic jurisprudence). However, there are qualified 'alimas (women religious scholars) schooled from a number of women's Madrasas. In 2006, 8554 girls and only 4660 boys took the examination of *darjah 'alimah* (equivalent to MA Arabic and Islamic Studies), conducted by Wafaq ul-Madaris al-Arabia (Deobandi)[489], one of five the *wafaq*s or madrasa educational boards in Pakistan.

"The Current Dars-i-Nizami as Adopted by Deobandi Madaris (for the 8-year course)

Subject	Books for Boys	Books for Girls
Exegesis (Tafsir)	• Tafsir al-Jalalayn •Tafsir Anwar al-Tanzil (Baydawi Sharif)	• Mukhtasar Tafsir • Tafsir al-Jalalayn
Methods of Exegesis (Usul-e-Tafsir)	• Al-Fauz al-Kabir • Al-Tibiyan fi Uloom Al-Quran	• Al-Fauz al-Kabir
Methods of Prophetic Traditions (Usul-e-Hadith)	• Khair ul-usul • Sharah Nukhbat al-Fikr	• Khair ul-usul
Traditions (Ahadith)	• Sunan Ibn-e-Majah including Shamail • Sahih al-Muslim • Al-Jami ut-Tarimdhi • Sahih al- Bukhari • Sunan Abi Daud • Al-Tahawi • Al-Muwata Imama Malik • Muwata Imam Muhammad • Mishkat • Riadh us-Salayheen • Zad al-Talbin	• Riadh us-Salayheen • Zad al-Talbin • Mishkat • Al-Muwata lil-Imam Malik (up to kitab ussalat) and Shamail Tarimdi • Kitab ul Asar of Imam Muhammad • Sunan Ibn-e-Majah (from chapter al-Fitan up to the end), • Al-Nisai (from Kitab al-Zinat min asSunan al-Fitart up to the end) • Sahih ul-Bukhari Volume-I, (Kitab ulEeman, Kitab ul-Ilm, Kitab ul-Jihad from page 390 to end of Manaqib) Volume-II, (Kitab al-Tafsir to Kitab un-

[489] "Darjwar T'adad Talba'/Talbat Salana Imtehan 1427 AH [2006CE]", Mahnama [monthly] *Wafaq ul-Madaris*, Multan, No. 7, August 2006. As referred by Muhammad Farooq, "Disciplining the Feminism: Girls' Madrasa Education in Pakistan", p.72, http://qcu.edu.pk/FullTextJour/Hist/V3N205/P64-88.pdf.

		Nikah) • Al-Trimdhi VolumeI&II (up to Abwab Fadail al-Quran) • Sunan Abu Daud Volume II (from Kitab al Taamah to Kitab alFitan and Kitab ulAadab up to the end)
Islamic Jurisprudence (Fiqah)	• Al-Qaduri • Kanz al-Daqaiq • Sharah Wiqaya (Akhirain) • Hidayah	• Bahishti Zewar • Al-Qaduri • Hidayah
Law of Inheritance (al-Fariad)	• Siraji • Masnad ImamAzam	• Siraji (up to the end of bab ul-rad)
Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence (Usul-e-Fiqah)	• Nur al-Anwar • Aasan Usul-e-Fiqah • Usul al-Shashi • Sharah 'Aqu dar sam al-Mufti • Tawdih wa Talwih	• Usul al-Shashi
Grammar (Sarf)	• Mizan al-Sarf • Munshaib • Punj Gunj / Irshad ul-Sarf / Ilm-ul-Sarf • Sifwat-ul Masdir • Tiseer al-Abwab • Ilm al-Sighah • Fasul-e- Akbari / Ilm-ul-Sarf	• Ilm ul-sarf
Syntax (Nahw)	• Ilm un-Nahw • Nahw-e-Mir • Usul al-Shashi • Al-Minhaj fi al-Qawaid wa alAarab / Al- Nahw al-asir / Tashil al-Nahw • Hidayat un-Nahw • Tashil al-Adab • Kafiya • Sharah Jami	• Ilm un-Nahw • Awamil un-Nahw • Usul al-Shashi • Hidayat un-Nahw
Philology & Literature (al-Lughat wa alAdab)	• Al-Tariqat al-Asirya • Mu'alim ul-Insha • Al-Qirat ur-Rashidah • Nufhat ul-Arab	• Sifwat ul-Masadir • Al-Tariqa tu- alasria(part 1) • Qasas un-Nabiyyin • Siar-e-Sahabiyat

	• Maqamat-e-Hariri (only 10 maqamat) • Mukhtarat al-Adab • Sab'a ul- Mu'alayqat • Diwan al- Hamasah • Matan al-Kaf	• Nufhat al-Arab (prose section) • Maqamat-e-Hariri (only 5 maqamat)
Logic (Mantiq)	• Tiseer al-Mantiq • Isaghoji • Mirqat • Sharah-e-Tahdeeb • Qutbi	• Tiseer ul-Mantiq
Philosophy (al-Hikmah)	• Hidayah Saeediah • Hidayah al-Hikmat	-
Rhetoric (Balaghat)	• Daroos al-Balagha • Mukhtasar al-M'aani • Talkhis al-Miftah	• Daroos al-Balagha (al fun I)
Astronomy & Math. (Falkiat wa Riazi)	• Fahm-e-Falkiat • Al-Hayat al-Wusta	-
Theology ('Aqaid)	• Al-Antabahat al-Mufeedah • Al-'Aqidah ut-Tahawiah • Sharah 'Aqaid	• Sharah 'Aqaid (from 'azab-e-qabar to the end)
Ethics (Akhlaqiat)	• Talim al-Mut'alim	-
History (Tarikh)	• Al-Tarikh al-Islami	• Tarikh-e-Islam • Khulafaiy Rashdin
Comparative Religions	• Aaeena-e-Qadiyaniat	-
Economics (M'aeeshat)	• Islam, aur Jadid M'aeeshat wa Tijarat	-

Source: Nisab-e-T'alim Wafaq ul-Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, lil binat (for girls), Wafaq ul-Madaris al-Arabia, Multan, 1993; Nisab-e-T'alim Wafaq ul-Madaris al- 84 'Arbiah Pakistan, lil banin (for boys) for annual exanimation 1426/2005, issued by Wafaq ul-Madaris al-Arabia, Multan."[490]

In accordance with Muhammad Farooq, Madrasas for women are institutes that take control of the totality of women's lives, disciplining and controlling women in a manner that inculcates the patriarchal notion of man's superiority and generates submissive and obedient female bodies.[491]Girls are provided an inferior education than boys. Particularly, research is not regarded as required for them, whereas the research and learning in reputable male Madrasas are well known. The whole curriculum for girls is focused around the concepts of domestication, wifehood, compliance, servility to male influence, and an inferior position in the social order. As Qasim Zaman mentions, "One could likewise write about Islam with the 'ulama as a key point of reference. After all, a good deal of the intellectual, religious, and social

[490] Ibid, p.80-4.
[491] Ibid, 65.

history of medieval Islam is intertwined with that of the 'ulama, not only because of their claims to religious leadership but also because their intellectual concerns straddled a variety of disciplines and because they were well-represented among the local notables across Muslim societies. The transformations their institutions and practices have undergone since colonial times are a useful index of many broader changes that have shaped Islam and Muslim societies in the modern world."[492]

The problem of class and gender can be seen in the girls' Madrasa education, as the majority of girls hail from the inferior economic divisions of the social order. The curriculum focus is on inculcating 'domestic femininity' in female students. The objective of educating girls is not to nurture independent and self-sufficient personalities among them or enhancing their intellectual aptitudes, instead, it is to make them more accomplished wives, mothers, and domestic supervisors, who can maintain the house, as well as preserve, and promote Islamic teachings and traditional values to their children. Girls' education is justified on the principle that it would be beneficial for them to accomplish the household responsibilities and provide their children with, at least, fundamental directions in the Islamic doctrines and adaab (etiquettes/values). In general, education for girls does not envision setting up them for performing a meaningful role outside their houses. Outside the home, teaching is considered an unobjectionable profession *if* their household responsibilities are not neglected and that the place of work upholds *appropriate* gender segregation.[493]

Madrasas for women are somewhat protected communities with definite disregard for worldly issues. Academic interest focuses on religious education. As usually, Madrasas are working under the patronage of male, influential religious leaders, the curriculum is designed under their supervision. In an attempt to craft a receptive mentality for the curriculum, the management has established a specific milieu in the Madrasas, which involves taking possession of the mind and disciplining the body. Madrasas for women are establishments where disciplining mechanisms are emphasized. They are using this exercise of discipline to reform the ways of thinking of the population.[494] Girls are taught what the "authorities" wish them to study. The material studied is pre-selected. The material that could help girls to go outside the classroom is also restricted either by ingeniously persuading the student against going further than what is imparted in the classroom or it is restricted openly by making particular kinds of material more accessible than others and some simply inaccessible. Students are monitored and controlled by Madrasas' bureaucrats so that they will react, both in and out of the classroom, passively, tamely and according to conventional behavior.[495]

A prominent scholar from the Ahl-i-Hadith sect is quoted by Masooda Bano as saying that, "For the Ulama the main objective of madrasa scholarship has primarily been to produce Islamic scholars who would propagate Islam especially through the platform of the mosque; because women were traditionally excluded from positions of religious authority within the mosque and Madrasas in this region, the Ulama had little incentive to invest in female Madrasas." Such investment appeared especially unwelcome because women's admittance to formal religious learning could authorize them to reinterpret religious text separately from the male Ulama, theoretically causing debate and rivalry

[492] Qasim Zaman, *Islam in Pakistan A History*, Princeton University Press, 2018, p.7.
[493] Ibid, p.73.
[494] Ibid, p.67.
[495] Ibid, p.68.

within the religious hierarchy.[496] Besides, there are many factors related to cultural tradition rather than religion that are responsible for women's low position in society. For instance, there is simply nothing in the Quran that prohibits women in leading prayers or delivering the Friday sermons. But it is presumed to be heretical even to raise this issue in public in South Asian society.[497]

Women's Place in the Society

Many Pakistanis believe that women's low position's perspective is not in keeping with the spirit of the Quran, as indicated by the Pakistani modernist Fazlur Rahman, "[T]o say that no matter how much women may develop intellectually, their evidence must on principle carry less value than that of a man is an outrageous affront to the Quran's purposes of social evolution…."[498] Rahman's point of view is that because of the influence of traditionalistic perspectives, the Quran's goal of social progress regarding the position of women has yet to be achieved. Reformers believe the Quran's emphasis on the equality of males and females (33:35) and the example of the Prophet of Islam have been ignored. The Prophet appreciated working women such as his wives, Khadija, a famous businesswoman, and Zainab bint Jahsh, a handcrafts artist.[499] Women are used as the symbolic identity of conservative Pakistani society. Their dress code is highly discussed, described, and dictated. Nevertheless, men are free to wear Western clothing, play sports, and enjoy all other cultural recreations. Accordingly, they are free in many ways, as they are subjugating their women. The conservatives' attitude of conservation has preserved the settled thought of women's limitation in their homes and segregation in society. The Quran's call for chastity is interpreted as applying *only* to women. *"Tell believing men to lower their gaze and remain chaste. That is purer for them. God is aware of what they do. (24:30)Tell believing women to lower their gaze and remain chaste. That is purer for them. God is aware of what they do."* (24:31) The Quran commands first men to lower their gaze, and then women, yet men's purity never gets scrutinized to the degree women's does. In prevailing Pakistani conformists' views women are, in effect, owned by the men who control the family. The purity of their character, measured in terms of their chastity, is considered the basis of the honor of family and society, while the chastity of men does not matter.

"The Quran does not explicitly require all Muslim to cover their heads or faces. Neither does it call upon all men to grow beards or cover their heads. What the Quran does say is that both men and women should dress modestly and lower their gazes when meeting each other (Quran 24:30-31). This leaves responsibility for personal morality and conduct in the hands of the individual, applying the same standard to men and women. The command to Muslim women to draw their scarves over their necklines was designed to mark them as respectable women who were not to be harassed. At the time, women who went out alone were often harassed by men. The purpose of the covering was to indicate that the woman was a pious and respectable individual, not someone who was publicly available. Rather

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[496]Massoda Bano, The Rational Believer, Choices and Decisions in the Madrasas of Pakistan, op.Cit. p.129.

[497] Amrit Dhillon, "A Muslim woman in the southern Indian state of Kerala has received death threats after leading prayers for a mixed congregation in an act of defiance against established Islamic practice." *The Guardian*, Jan 30, 2018, *https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/30/muslim-woman-receives-death-threats-leading-prayers-kerala-india*

[498] Fazlur Rahman, Islam and Modernity, Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition, Op.Cit. p.19.

[499] Sahih al-Bukhari, Vol. 2, "Book of Obligatory Charity Tax (Zakat)", Book 24, Hadith no: 501, *https://sunnah.com/bukhari/24*

than rendering her invisible, the veil was intended to serve as a visible marker of a woman's protected status. What has come to be the traditional type of veiling focused on covering the head and sometimes the face was adopted from the surrounding Persian and Byzantine Empires as the Islamic Empire spread beyond Arabia and absorbed aspects of their neighbors' upper-class culture. In these societies, only upper- and middle-class women veiled—and so to distinguish themselves from lower –class women and prostitutes. The veil thus served as a marker of wealth and prestige, available only to those who enjoyed male protection to the extent that a particular woman was kept "private" to an individual man. Veiling, therefore, served as a marker of a man's status and prestige rather than as a religious statement by a woman."[500] The conformists interpret the Quran verse by verse, in light of traditions that have often been informed by customs prevailing in the region of their origin for ages, in many cases, even before the advent of Islam. In effect, therefore, their interpretations reflect and support existing traditions, rather than challenging them. Not coincidentally, this approach helps them gain the backing of those sectors of society who benefit from the status quo. For instance, Purdah, interpreted as face veiling and segregation of women, is an age-old local tradition that is still be found in the interior Sindh, including among Hindu women.

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This traditional practice can be supported by the literal interpretation of a few well-known verses of the Quran, particularly when read without reference to the circumstances of revelation. And supporting those existing practices allows the ultra-conservatives to gain support among traditionalists. Likewise, Sam Robinson's findings support this supposition. "[T]he fabled tribal code of Pashtunwali became re-imagined as Islamic. Some parts of the code, such as a license to take blood revenge and the modest seclusion of women were already overlapped with Islamic tradition."[504]

More to the point, traditionalists commended only one aspect of womanhood, family, and home, which is not suitable for all women. This is a good example of the limitation of the Quranic approach through

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[500] John L. Esposito, Natana J. Delong-BAS, *Sharia, What Everyone Needs to Know*, Op.Cit. p.127-8.

[501]Akhtar H. Khan, Hindu women of Cholistan, Pakistan, *flickr,* *https://www.flickr.com/photos/cutepakistan/28744096184, Accessed on December, 27, 2018.*

[502] Discrimination against 'scheduled caste' Hindus continues in Pakistan, *Struggle for Hindu Existence*, March 23, 2010,*https://hinduexistence.org/2010/03/25/discrimination-against-scheduled-caste-hindus-continues-in-pakistan-low-caste-hindu-women-kids-being-sexploited-in-pakistan/*

[503]Pakistan senate passes landmark Hindu marriage bill, *Dawn Islamabad*, February 18, 2017, *https://www.thedailystar.net/politics/pakistan-senate-passes-landmark-hindu-marriage-bill-1363132*

conventional hadiths' perspective. The Quran is not limited to the time of the Prophet. Women have many options in today's world to develop their potential. "The reinforcement of an essentialist notion of womanhood that already exists in various degrees in society, and creates positive value for their roles as wives and as mothers and a negative value for a number of other occupations, leaves very little space who wants other options in life. Furthermore, the well-defined characteristics that make up a "good woman" put down those women who are different, either directly or by default." [505]

Islam gives emancipation to women: it places them as an equal citizen along with male in every aspect of the working arena. Thus respect for women does not limit them in their homes but gives them equal education and equal opportunities in the maximum number of fields. This is, as a matter of fact, consistent with Islamic wants and with the aspirations of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as well. In a speech made at Aligarh Muslim University in 1944, Jinnah stated that "no nation can rise to the heart of its glory unless your women are side by side with you...It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the house as prisoners".[506]

The prevailing ideology that thus defines women is encapsulated in Abula'la Maududi's *Purdah and the Status of Women in Islam,* originally published in 1972 and still widely read. Maududi and his many followers believe that women's social status is *inherently* inferior to that of men, as they are passive in nature, by contrast to men who are active. Thus, men's roles are public, while women's roles are private and domestic; their job is to manage their households: "Since biologically woman has been created to bring forth and rear children, psychologically also she has been endowed with such abilities as suit her natural duties... And since in the sexual life man has been made active and woman passive, she has been endowed with those very qualities alone which help and prepare her for the passive role in life only…..That is why she is soft and pliable, submissive and impressionable, yielding and timid by nature".[507] According to Maududi and his followers, women's '*proper*' education, therefore, is a preparation to become good wives, good mothers, and good housekeepers. This narrow view of women is reflected in Pakistan's education system. [508]

However, this inferiority of women in Madrasa education is not universal; for example, boys and girls sit in the same Madrasa classrooms in Indonesia. The reaction to this is noteworthy: Ebrahim Moosa cited the famous Pakistani religious leader Taqi Usmani's dismay on Indonesia's mixed gender madrasa education, as he did not see how it could be aligned with the Islamic values. "Taqi Usmani prides himself on being a conservative traditionalist. His reflections after a visit to a well-established and prosperous madrasa in the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, some years ago are quite revealing. "I requested to see the classrooms of the madrasa, "Usmani writes, "and so the principal guided me there." Keeping in mind the extraordinary deference for the study of hadith in orthodox South Asia madrasa circles, Taqi Usmani's curiosity to know how this subject was taught in Jakarta is not surprising. But his reaction, recorded in dramatic detail, shows the polarized and highly differentiated perspectives among Muslims, especially on matters of gender. Let's hear Usmani in his own words: When I reached the dar al-hadith, the

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[505] Sadaf Ahmad, *Transforming Faith*, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2009), p.184.

[506] Rachel Rosenbloom, Islam, Feminism, and the Lay in Pakistan under Zia, in *Islam and Democracy in Pakistan*, edited by Muhammad Aslam Syed, 243-86. Islamabad: Crystal Printers, 1995, p.248, as referred by Ibid, p.56.

[507] S. Abula'ala Maududi, *Purdah and the Status of Woman in Islam*, (Lahore: Islamic Publications LTD. 1972), p. 120-1.

[508] There is a discussion of dress codes and women's place in society in the appendix

auditorium where prophetic traditions are taught, I saw to my growing incomprehension, dismay, and sadness, a mixed gathering of men and women auditioning a class on prophetic traditions (hadith). I asked the principal in total disbelief: 'You even have gender-mixing during the study of hadith?' The principal took a small sigh, and replied: 'Yes, this is our Indonesian Islam and we provide a robust version of this education here.'"[509]

In Dr. Mumtaz Ahmad's survey, a significant matter in gender affairs was highlighted that ignited substantial controversy, particularly in the wake of a few cases where Muslim women were asked to lead the congregational prayers. He presented a supposed case before survey respondents: Samina and Saleem have both accomplished advanced Islamic education in reputable Madrasas. Both have pursued specialization (takhassus) in fiqh under the guidance of a renowned 'alim. Now, the question is: Are they both equally capable to issue fatwas on matters of Shariah?" Unexpectedly, the Madrasa teachers were more agreeable to sharing their authority with their sisters than their students: 46% of the teachers and only 8% of the students said that, yes, both Samina and Saleem can issue fatwas while 54% of teachers and 92% of students were of the view that only Saleem is "qualified" to issue fatwas on problems associated to Shariah.[510] On the other hand, according to Mohammad Akram Nadwi, women scholars were regarded equally to men on important matters by great scholars like Imam Malik. "Examples can be found for most, if not all, for various 'chapters' or divisions of fiqh. Imam Malik has referred in his *Muwwata* to the fatwas of the great *tabiyyah* Ammara bint Abd al Rahman on issues related to Hajj."[511]

The practical socioeconomic and political implications of equality of men and women are unacceptable for Madrasa communities. They disregard social equality and consider equality to only apply in certain moral issues, such as telling the truth or being rewarded for good deeds. Interestingly, in a survey of Madrasas, 86% of teachers and 93% of students agreed on women's equal social, economic, and political rights, but 94% of teachers and 91% of students did not support women working outside their homes.[512]

However, a holistic interpretation of the Quran that focuses on its overall objectives and suggests their application in view of the needs of today may challenge prevailing customs and norms. It may indicate, for example, that while segregation of women promoted their well-being in 1st century Arabia, today it may marginalize them, undermining their well-being and thus that of society at large. Such an interpretation would then lead to resistance among traditionalists – in this example, those satisfied with the segregation of women. Circumstances have changed since the time of the Prophet; traditional social patterns no longer reflect social realities. After the industrial revolution, the working arena changed from fields to factories and offices. Industrialization has brought urbanization and shifts in family patterns from extended to nuclear and attendant shifts in family responsibilities. In nuclear families,

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[509] Ebrahim Moosa, *What is a Madrasa*, Op. Cit. p.145-6.

[510]Mumtaz Ahmad, *Islamic Education in Bangladesh and Pakistan Trends in Tertiary Institutions*, Mumtaz Ahmad and Matthew J. Nelson, Op.Cit. p.22, PDF File, http://www.cippusa.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Islamic-Education-in-Pak-Bangladesh.pdf.

[511] Mohammad Akram Nadwi, *al-Muhaddithat: the women scholars in Islam*, (London: Interface Publications, 2007), p.283, PDF File, https://ia802705.us.archive.org/23/items/AlMuhaddithat/al%20-%20Muhaddithat.pdf.

[512]Mumtaz Ahmad, *Islamic Education in Bangladesh and Pakistan Trends in Tertiary Institutions*, Mumtaz Ahmad and Matthew J. Nelson, Op.Cit. p.22, PDF File, http://www.cippusa.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Islamic-Education-in-Pak-Bangladesh.pdf.

spouses' economic responsibilities are more evenly divided, with women commonly joining the public workforce. That requires shifts in educational patterns --both males and females need modern education. This is not only consistent with foundational Islamic values but is essential for the wellbeing of society. Therefore, increasing women's educational opportunities increases society's economic potential.

Moreover, the notorious issue of the interpretation of 4:34 for the legitimacy of beating wives is validated by conservatives. (4:34) وَاضْرِبُوهُنَّ فَإِنْ أَطَعْنَكُمْ فَلَا تَبْغُوا عَلَيْهِنَّ سَبِيلًا إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ عَلِيًّا كَبِيرًا

"As for women of whom you fear rebellion, admonish them, and remain apart from them in beds, and beat them. (Maududi)

As for those from whom ye fear rebellion, admonish them and banish them to beds apart, and scourge them. (Pickthall) the women from whom you fear disobedience, (at first) advise them and (then) do not cohabit with them, and (lastly) beat them (Ahmed Raza Khan)"[513] Likewise, Daryaabadi, Mubarakpuri, Arberry, Asad, Hilali & Khan, Shakir, Sarwar, Yusuf Ali, they all translated وَاضْرِبُوهُنَّ as beat them, Wahiduddin Khan translated it as Hit them.[514] Hence, usually, the context of revelation is overlooked. Thus this verse is referred to validate of men's superiority over women. Accordingly, God allowed men to beat their wives. On the other hand, Ahmed Ali translated the verse as, "As for women you feel are averse, talk to them suasively; then leave them alone in bed (without molesting them) and go to bed with them (when they are willing)". [515]

Moreover, hadiths had no record of the Prophet of Islam ever beating any of his wives or supporting any incident of domestic violence. Likewise, according to Prof. Tamara Sonn, "I don't think it says men can beat their wives. I think men have interpreted the verse to mean that. The verb [وَاضْرِبُوهُنَّ] *wadribuhunna* can mean "strike them" but it has other meanings, and I think the Prophet's Sunna must be our model for understanding which meaning is appropriate in this context. Did the Prophet strike his wives when there were problems? We have no evidence of that. The term can also mean "leave them" or "walk away from them." That seems to be what the Prophet did, so that is how I understand 4:34. (When men add caveats like "strike them lightly," and "but never on the face" and "only with something no bigger than a miswak" or "it's only a token beating," they make things worse for themselves: they place themselves in the position of superiority over women, which is also a violation of the spirit of the Qur'an. Sura 2:228 [Women who are divorced have to wait for three monthly periods, and if they believe in God and the Last Day they must not hide unlawfully what God has formed within their wombs. Their husbands would do well to take them back in that case, if they wish to be reconciled. Women also have recognised rights as men have, though men have an edge over them. But God is all-mighty and all-wise.] does not mean that men are superior to women; it refers specifically to questions about talaq, and it is contextualized in 7th century Arabia. How could it be a moral principle, eternal and changeless, when the Qur'an teaches fundamental human equality?)"[516]

Furthermore, the traditional concept of womanhood, which one of the most influential religious leaders in Pakistan, Farhat Hashmi, supports and demands, is outdated and not related to the Quranic equality

[513] *http://tanzil.net/#4:34*
[514] Ibid.
[515] Ibid.
[516] Tamara Sonn, "Re:" Received by Author, 25th January, 2019.

of both sexes. As the Quran says, “Verily, the Muslims men and women, the believers men and women, the men and the women who are obedient (to God), the men and women who are truthful, the men and the women who are patient, the men and the women who are humble, the men and the women who give Sadaqat (alms), the men and the women who observe Saum (fast), the men and the women who guard their chastity (from illegal sexual acts) and the men and the women who remember Allah much with their hearts and tongues Allah has prepared for them forgiveness and a great reward (i.e. Paradise)” (ألحزابسورة, 33:35)

Here, each time both men and women are addressed separately. The stress on the equality of both sexes in the eyes of God is emphasized here. God has created both of them with similar intellect and they both need each other to run a family. If the society regards them equally then indeed it magnifies its serenity, which might lead it to ideal progress.

“The wives have rights corresponding to those which the husbands have, according to what is recognized to be fair, but men have a rank above them. God is almighty and all-wise” (2:228). This verse seems in contradiction to the concept of equality of men and women. However, a verse in chapter 4, clarifies the contradiction that the presumed superiority is timely and conditioned on the stipulation of spending their wealth on a woman. That was the customary tradition around the agricultural world at the time of the revelation of the Qur’an. Women worked with their husbands in their (husband’s) fields and the men had to spend their wealth in order to have the blessings of wives and children. “Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because God has made one of them to excel the other, and because they spend (to support them) from their means. Therefore the righteous women are devoutly obedient (to God)” (An-Nisaa, 4:34)

On the other hand, women also participated in a handful of businesses prevalent at that time. They also did handicrafts for earnings. In hadiths, the Prophet expressed appreciation several times of those women. The Qur’an does not limit the arena of their work to teaching, preaching, and medicine only, as is often today the only *approved* professions for women in the conformists' circles of Pakistan. Rather, other than the first wife of the Prophet, Khadija R.A., who was a famous businesswoman, Zainab R.A. was a handcrafts artist; she would process leather, sew and spend the proceeds in charity in the way of Allah.[517] And he did not only appreciate her—but also gave her preference because of her working status— and blessed her with the glad tiding that she would be the one who would meet him first in the heaven.[518]

The obligation of Zakat is additional; evidence for the importance of encouraging women to work. "Zakat is obligated in Shari`ah on certain items, assets, and income. These include gold and silver, jewelry (with a few conditions), money, trade inventory, livestock, and agricultural products. According to the Shari’ah, the person who possesses the required threshold which makes zakat obligatory must give a specific amount of his wealth to those who are eligible to receive zakat, according to their specific condition, so that their needs are fulfilled."[519] This applies to both men and women equally. The wife is responsible to pay her zakat by herself. If she doesn't have a source of income, she would have to sell

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[517] Emine Gümüş Böke, “Zaynab bint Jahsh: Wife of the Prophet and Mother of the Believers”, *Last Prophet.Info,* March 03, 2010, *http://www.lastprophet.info/zaynab-bint-jahsh-wife-of-the-prophet-and-mother-of-the-believers*

[518] Sahih Bukhari, “Book of Obligatory Charity Tax (Zakat)”, Chapter no: 11, Hadith no: 501, *https://sunnah.com/bukhari/24*

[519] Qathrun Nada Djamil, Should a Wife Pay Her Own Zakat?, *aMuslima,* The Intelligent and Informed Muslim Women, Deen Pack, Zakat, January 26, 2015, *https://www.amuslima.com/does-the-responsibility-to-pay-zakat-fall-on-husband-who-is-earning-or-should-the-wife-pay-for-her-own-zakat/*

some of her property (for example jewelry) to pay her obligated zakat. "Shaykh Ibn ‘Uthaymeen (may Allaah have mercy on him) was asked: Is zakaah due on gold that is prepared for adornment if a woman does not have any means of paying zakaah other than selling some of the gold? He replied: The correct scholarly view and the most likely to be correct in my view is that zakaah must be paid on jewelry if it reaches the nisaab (minimum threshold), which is eighty-five grams (85 gram). If it reaches this amount, zakaah must be paid on it. If she has other wealth and pays from that, there is nothing wrong with it. If her husband or one of her relatives pays it on her behalf, there is nothing wrong with that. If neither of these options is available to her, then she should sell some of it and pay zakaah with that money. (From Fataawa Islamiyyah, 2/85)"[520]

Hence, husbands are not responsible for their wives' possessions. This is another strong incentive for women to work in order to save their possessions and to have enough at the end of the year to pay charity.

Likewise, the women observing iddah (waiting period) are generally considered to be limited to their homes and not allowed to go out. However, the Prophet allowed a woman who was in her idda to go to supervise her orchard. “Jabir b. 'Abdullah (Allah be pleased with them) reported: My maternal aunt was divorced, and she intended to pluck her dates. A person scolded her for having come out (during the period of 'Iddah). She came to Allah's Prophet (may peace be upon him.) and he said: Certainly you can pluck (dates) from your palm trees, for perhaps you may give charity or do an act of kindness.”[521]

Yet again traditionally the following hadith is referred to as limiting women’s freedom to travel alone. “Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said, "It is not permissible for a woman who believes in Allah and the Last Day to travel for one day and night except with a Mahram.”[522]At the time of the Prophet, men and women traveled on camels, donkeys, and horses. These have now been replaced by far safer and more comfortable modern land and air transportations. Moreover, there were no street lights and so in the dark night moving alone on animal ride naturally dangerous for both sexes; women being on average physically weaker and more vulnerable. Also, the journeys were calculated in days and months from one city to another. Now it is only a matter of hours between continents; consequently, with the shrinking globe, values are also being transformed in our modern context. On the other hand, there is another hadith that is nearer to the above-mentioned point. “For indeed I do not fear poverty for you - Allah will aid you and grant you, such that a woman can travel on her camel howda from Yathrib to Al-Hirah, or further, without fear of being robbed.” [523] However, the context of hadith is in general completely ignored.

In Pakistan, more than 60% of the population lives in the countryside and most of the women work in the fields. "In rural areas female contribute a lot in agriculture from planting to harvesting of many crops e.g cotton, rice, wheat, maize, and sugar cane. Rural women bear the entire burden of cooking and cleaning for the family unit. Additionally, they churn milk for butter and fat, sew and cut, preserve foods, often raise chicken or goats, spin yarn, do quilting and matting, and bring up babies, without much male help. In short, the majority of rural females are made to work as long as 16 to 18 hours a day without

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[520] Ibid.

[521] Sahih Muslim, “The Book of Divorce”, Chapter 7: It is permissible for a woman who is observing 'Iddah after an irrevocable divorce or the death of her husband to go out during the day if she needs to, 1483, Book 18, Book 9, Hadith 3535, *https://sunnah.com/muslim/18/69*

[522] Sahih al-Bukhari, “Shortening the Prayers (At-Taqseer)”, Chapter 4: The length of the journey that makes it permissible to offer a shortened prayer?, Vol. 2, Book 18, Hadith 1088, *https://sunnah.com/bukhari/18*

[523] Jami` at-Tirmidhi, “Chapters on Tafsir”, Book 47, Hadith 3211, *https://sunnah.com/tirmidhi/47*

any payment. Their status is based mostly on local customs irrespective of Quran's percepts. In 1985, the “Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women” reported, “Thus the average woman of Pakistan is born in near slavery, leads a life of drudgery and dies invariably in oblivion”[524]

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[524] Hina Tabassum, About the Situation of Women in Pakistan (Especially Rural Women), *Speak Out*, October 16, 2014, http://aprrn.info/aprrn_blog/?p=7574, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hgl9ZWzy9bE

[525] Ms Durre Samee, Dr Farhana Nosheen, Mr Haq Nawaz Khan, Dr Imdad Ali Khowaja, Dr Khalida Jamali, Dr Parvez Iqbal Paracha, Dr Shahnaz Akhtar, Dr Zahira Batool, Ms Zohra Khanum, *Women in agriculture in Pakistan*, Food and Afgriculture Organization of the United Nations, Islamabad, 2015, P.Xii, http://www.fao.org/3/a-i4330e.pdf

[526] Ibid, P.47.

[527] Women were given temporary employment under the cash for work scheme for repairing the houses in their villages. Photo: UNDP Pakistan, Gender and Sustainable Development, http://www.pk.undp.org/content/pakistan/en/home/ourwork/gender-equality.html

[528] Women, who lived near a lake created after a landslide in Hunza district, cut barley in a field in Seeshghat village in Hunza district of northern Pakistan May 24, 2010. (REUTERS/Abrar Tanoli),Landslide lake in Pakistan, The Big Picture, *boston.com*, http://archive.boston.com/bigpicture/2010/06/landslide_lake_in_pakistan.html

[529] Kisan Board wants equal rights for women farmenrs, May 4, 2017, Farmer News, *Pakistan Agricultre Reasearch* (*PAR*), https://par.com.pk/news/kisan-board-wants-equal-rights-for-women-farmers

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This shows that the famous assertion by conservatives that women should be limited to the home is not consistent with the reality of Pakistani life. It appears that the conservatives, in general, are speaking to the middle class of urban populations and are less bothered by the poor and rural areas where the majority of the population of Pakistan lives. According to Dr. Mubarak Ali: "Moreover, the people of Pakistan are not prepared to accept religious rigidity, especially in the rural areas. Their concept of religion is in general tolerance and coexistence with other religions. They do not have any place for puritanism or extremism in their lives. It is a fact that no religious party represents the general will of the rural population of Pakistan. So far people have refused to be a part of the religious wars conducted by these groups. There is no sectarian riot or conflict from below; they are always from above."[532]

The following Hadith is important, showing that after Hijra (migration to Madina) in 622 AD, Asma bint Abu Bakar R.A. used to work just as any male member of the community did. There was no division of men working outside and women working only inside the home. The famous urban term *Housewife* never existed. She stated, "When Az-Zubair married me, he had no real property or any slave or anything else except a camel which drew water from the well, and his horse. I used to feed his horse with fodder and drew water and sew the bucket for drawing it and prepare the dough, but I did not know how to bake bread. So our Ansari neighbors used to bake bread for me, and they were honorable ladies. I used to carry the date stones on my head from Zubair's land given to him by Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) and this land was two third Farsakh (about two miles) from my house. One day, while I was coming with the date stones on my head, I met Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) along with some Ansari people. He called me and then, (directing his camel to kneel down) said, "Ikh! Ikh!" so as to make me ride behind him (on his camel). I felt shy to travel with the men and remembered Az-Zubair and his sense of Ghira (manly honor), as he was one of those people who had the greatest sense of Ghira. Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) noticed that I felt shy, so he proceeded. I came to Az-Zubair and said, "I met Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) while I was carrying a load of date stones on my head, and he had some companions with him. He made his camel kneel down so that I might ride, but I felt shy in his presence and remembered your sense of Ghira. On that Az-Zubair said, "By Allah, your carrying the date stones (and you being seen by the Prophet (ﷺ) in such a state) is more shameful to me than your riding with him." (I continued serving in this way) till Abu Bakr sent me a servant to look after the horse, whereupon I felt as if he had set me

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[530] App, Women workers make bricks in Lahore, President, PM vow to protect workers rights', *Dawn*, May 01, 2017, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1330310*

[531] Emmanuel Guddu, Women returning home after collecting firewood in Thar, The Koli of Pakistan, *Dawn*, Apri 24, 2014, *https://www.dawn.com/news/1102038*

[532] Dr. Mubarak Ali, *Pakistan in Search of Identity*, Op.Cit. p.62, PDF File, *http://www.drmubarakali.org/assets/pakistan-in-search-of-identity.pdf*

free."[533] "She took part in the Battle of Yarmuk in 636 AD and fought bravely which drove the Roman Empire out of Syria. She is the narrator of 58 Hadith, and many leading men related hadith from her."[534] Indeed, it is essential to consider the issue of historical context. Before the industrial revolution and then later when the working arena changed from fields into factories and offices, the need for technical education became essential. In fact, before the industrial revolution women were not restricted to the home. Women used to work with their male counterparts in the fields as even now it is evident in the agricultural regions of our country. So, their traditional education and training were enough for their upcoming future. However, after the industrial revolution, the question of women's training and education arose.

Yet, educated in a precisely planned religious curriculum, Muslim women serve an efficacious mechanism in satisfying the Ulama's undertaking of rebuilding Muslim society consistent with *"Islamic ideals",* as they outline and expanding their authority and broadening their electorate by restructuring women's morality. Through selective religious passages for the classrooms and imparting them value education formally and informally, women's *Madrasas* of Pakistan are disciplining feminism, generating personalities which are easy to mold, by unremitting indoctrination into an "*ideal*" of "*Islamic womanhood*". As a result, at present, the Pakistani civil society has the latest brand of educated women who represent a new interpretation of feminism that might be harmful to women's rights in Pakistan.[535]

Dr. Farhat Hashmi's Al-Huda International

According to Jishnu Das, a senior economist at the World Bank, only 1.5% of students are enrolled in Pakistani Madrasas.[536] However, society is influenced by their Friday sermons and influential media programs. Hence, other than the national curriculum, they are also liable for the heightened religiosity in Pakistani society. In this context, only conservative-interpreted Islam is growing and thriving fruitfully in Pakistan. Dr. Farhat Hashmi's Al-Huda International is an example of how easy it is for the neo-conservative, female remnants of Jamat Islami) successfully establish and raise an international caliber institution not only in Pakistan but also globally.

Al-Huda International is an exceptionally organized organization and in line with its parent Jama'at-i-Islami, became the vanguard organization for Islamization of the society. However, it is dangerously deficient in religious pluralism and gives inferior status to the women. As a result, conflicting with the Quran's assertion of inclusivity, it deviates from the ideals of Islam. Rubina Saigol, a Lahore-based academic, studied women's Madrasas and stated that Al Huda International — and others like them — provide women "a sense of belonging" even if the material being imparted is poles apart from progressive. "The messages they were being given are extremely conservative and patriarchal — how to be an obedient wife, how a good Muslim woman should behave," Saigol said. "It was not empowering

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[533]Sahih Bukhari, 67 Wedlock, Marriage (Nikaah) (108)Chapter: "Al-Ghaira (i.e. honour, prestige or self-respect)", Vol. 7, Book 62, Hadith 151, *https://sunnah.com/bukhari/67*

[534] Abu Tariq Hijazi, Asma bint Abu Bakr: Role Model for Women, *Arab News*, Nov. 13, 2015, *http://www.arabnews.com/islam-perspective/news/834586* Accessed on 12/23/2018.

[535]Muhammad Farooq, "Disciplining the Feminism: Girls' Madrasa Education in Pakistan", Op.Cit. p.80, http://gcu.edu.pk/FullTextJour/Hist/V3N205/P64-88.pdf.

[536] Beenish Ahmed, The Madrassa Myth: in Pakistan, Public Schools may be the Problem, PRI's The World, August 21, 2013 · 12:45 PM EDT,*https://www.pri.org/stories/2013-08-21/madrassa-myth-pakistan-public-schools-may-be-problem*

except in the sense that it was a legitimate way for women to get out of the house and feel like they were part of a larger community through a religious activity instead of a coffee or tea party."[537]

Pakistan originated as the laboratory of Islam- 'a laboratory for applying Islamic ideals' in the modern world—a phrase Jinnah used during the campaign for Pakistan,[538] to experiment and experience the infusion of modernity within Islamic Ideology. However, it resulted in a laboratory of fundamentalism, in which the experimental subjects came one by one to influence society and bequeath the orientation and influence they had been given to their heirs. Likewise, Dr. Hashmi has been profoundly inspired by Maulana Maududi. "Farhat Hashmi offers her own Qur'anic exegesis to her students, but it is heavily influenced by Mawlana Mawdudi's teachings; Mawdudi himself was largely influenced by the Deobandi movement. Like the Deobandi and Ahl-e-Hadith, Farhat Hashmi also draws on a literal interpretation of the Quran, relies on the Sunnah, and has an idealized image of the first Muslim community. She too desires to remove cultural accretion and tradition from society, places a great deal of emphasis on ritual, critiques the practices that people subscribing to Barailvi Islam and Shiite Islam engage in, deems Islam to be a solution to all human problems, and so forth."[539] "Farhat Hashmi and other women of Al-Huda have also participated in Jamaat activities which provided some elements of their ideological and organizational toolkit."[540] Jamaat-i Islami was a remarkably influential and disciplined organization comprised of non-Ulama but elites of society and accomplished a great deal in generating an "Islamic consciousness" in Pakistani society. This consciousness further demoralizes the liberal character that encompasses pluralism and women's emancipation.

It is indeed their great success that they have made educated Pakistani Muslims believe in the indispensability of neo-conservative religious leaders' in the name of guidance of the community. In general, Pakistani educated Muslims build their prestige on having a close relationship with their regional Alim/Alima (male/female traditional neo-conservative religious teachers who currently are trained in concrete ideas of sectarian exclusiveness) through taking his/her weekly classes. They seek their local Alim's acceptance of proposals for marriages which means families have no space for marriages between sects. "Interesting but anecdotal, evidence about the impact of Dr. Hashmi's Islamic training on these young girls is reported to be a relatively higher divorce rate among them. It is said that having gone through a strict Salafi type Islamic training by Dr. Hashmi, these girls are excessively religious demanding for their husbands and in-laws and, more importantly, tend to assert their Islamically sanctioned rights to the annoyance of their husbands."[541] Hushed whispers of broken engagements — even marriages — due to quarrels over wearing hijab are routine. "One of my friends was divorced by her husband because he could not adapt to her new lifestyle," says 22-year-old Zohra.

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[537] Shashank Bengali and Aoun Sahi, "Where San Bernardino shooter Tashfeen Malik went to school to learn about Islam", *Los Angeles Times*, Dec 07, 2015, http://www.latimes.com/world/asia/la-fg-school-san-bernardino-fundamentalist-20151207-story.html

[538] Farahnaz Ispahani, *Purifying the Land of Pure*, Op.cit. p.30.

[539] Sadaf Ahmad, *Transforming Faith*, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2009), p.40.

[540] Faiza Mushtaq, *New Claimants to Religious Authority: A Movement for Women's Islamic Education, Moral Reform and Innovative Traditionalism*, Northwestern University, 2010, PhD. Dissertation, p.71, PDF File, *https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/docview/818747288?pq-origsite=summon&accountid=11091*

[541] Mumtaz Ahmad, "Media-Based Preachers and the Creation of New Muslim Publics in Pakistan", *The National Bureau of Asian Research*, Feb 2010, p. 29. *http://www.nbr.org/publications/element.aspx?id=421*

I also had this experience; when I was under Dr. Hashmi's inspiration, my more than 10 years married life was in a disastrous stage. Afterwards, when I came out from her influence my husband thanked Prof. Shakil Auj for saving our marriage because of my changed thoughts.

"My friend wanted to wear the niqaab (veil), and refused to attend mixed gatherings, but her husband couldn't accept that. He asked her to revert back to who she was, but she refused. I have also heard of a lot of engagements breaking up for the same reasons."[542]

Moreover, neo-conservatives like Al-Huda commended only one aspect of womanhood, which is not suitable for all women. Women have many options in today's world to achieve their potential. The reinforcement of a conservative, conformist's notion of womanhood creates positive value for their roles as wives and as mothers but leave very little space for those who want other options in life. Additionally, the well-defined characteristics that make up a "good woman" put down those women who are different, either directly or by default. [543]Unlike her neo-conservative counterparts, Farhat Hashmi gives women the freedom to study in renowned universities. However, she limits their working arena. "On the issue of women working, she again points to the Quran, asserting that women must recognize their own abilities and circumstances when entering the workforce. "Women should understand the limits set by Islam," she says. "Whichever field fulfills both the requirement of the individual and "*Islam*", that would be the appropriate career." But Canadian Muslims point to the Prophet Muhammad, the messenger of Islam from God, whose own wife was a businesswoman and renowned for her skills."[544]"Noor" is a 27-year-old in a peacock-blue headscarf who recently worked as a chartered financial analyst before going on maternity leave last year. She decided to use the time to enroll in Al Huda. Now, she wonders whether she will ever go back to her day job."[545] "Dressed in a denim jacket, white pants, and a headscarf, Ayesha Awan, 20, makes her way to class every morning. She has cut her studies at York University to part-time to attend Al-Huda's 20-month course. "I wasn't religious when I started her class. I didn't cover my head before, but now I do," she says. Her perspective on the role of women has also changed. "I agree with Dr. Hashmi that women should stay at home and look after their families," she says…… Tarek Fatah, the communications director of the Muslim Canadian Congress is highly critical of Dr. Hashmi's teachings. "Her concept is a grave threat not only to Canadian values but also to Canadian Muslims. She is segregating society and encouraging the ghettoization of the South Asian Muslim community and making it very difficult for them to integrate into mainstream society," Mr. Fatah argues. "She is completely brainwashing these educated, middle-class women to stay at home."[546]

On the other hand, Hashmi has used highly educated women to run each of her Al-Huda International branches. In all her institutes only Al-Huda graduates can work, thus women who have a good education degree have a future in Al-Huda. Hashmi encourages involvement by members who have corporate and

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[542] Shimaila Matri Dawood, The Opiate of the Elite, News Line, December 2003, *https://newslinemagazine.com/magazine/the-opiate-of-the-elite/*

[543] Sadaf Ahmad, *Transforming Faith*, Op.Cit. P.184.

[544] Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy, "Islamic School for Women: Faithful or Fundamental?" *The Globe and Mail,* Toronto, October 29, 2005, in "Burka-promoting Pakistani preacher Farhat Hashmi barred from entering Canada?", Tarek Fatah, November 29, 2012, Blogpost, *http://salalbalouch.blogspot.com/2012/11/burka-promoting-pakistani-preacher.html* Accessed April 23, 2018.

[545] Colin Freeze, "Inside Al Huda Muslim school for young women", *The Globe and Mail*, November 12, 2017, *http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/inside-al-huda-muslim-school-for-youngwomen/article28082472/*

[546] Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy, "Islamic School for Women: Faithful or Fundamental?" Op.Cit. https://lubpak.com/archives/7225

professional experience, using their insights to experiment and expand the movement's activities.[547] She is so firm in this stance that even her own sister had no place in Al-Huda. Perhaps that made Nighat Hashmi follow her elder sister's example; she started Al-Noor International in 1996 (which has a significant number of students in 21 branches in major cities of Pakistan) on the same pattern as Al-Huda International.[548]

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Al-Noor International's public place program Al-NoorInternational's Classroom Main Lecture Theatre, Lahore Campus

The social welfare and educational programs of Al-Huda International[552]are nominal in comparison to its global position and elite status; most of them are basically designed only for marketing and visibility. Besides, these programs are donation-based, with donations earmarked for specific programs. Hence, these trifling welfare works will not be effective in bringing substantial and profoundly needed change in society. Their educational programs are in line with the overall divided state of the educational system. The Al-Huda International School (AIS) has 5 branches; 2 in Islamabad, 1 in Peshawar, 1 in Karachi, and 1 in Faisalabad.[553]They have high fees for elites of the society and provide world-class quality education, but their educational programs for street children are limited to only one school in Pakistan located in Islamabad (Mount Hira School),[554]and three schools located in Rawalpindi and Islamabad for out of school children.[555] These schools are not aimed at training leaders as the quality of schooling is poor and the students of AIS and the poor children are treated according to their social status. The abyss between them is huge. Specifically, their Rural Areas Program (of which there is only 1 in Muree and 13 in rural areas in Sindh) is limited to only teaching nazra (recitation) of the Quran, Urdu, and basic religious teachings.[556] Similarly, AlHuda' Slum Areas Program serves only 200 women and 600 children in 17 slum areas in Karachi and only 2 in Islamabad. The women are limited to weekly Quran classes and Dora-e-Quran (quick reading of the Quran to cover via short interpretations of specific verses) in Ramadan, while children are limited to studying Tajweed (elocution), Nazra (recitation), Namaz (prayer), Urdu, and

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[547] Faiza Mushtaq, *New Claimants to Religious Authority: A Movement for Women's Islamic Education, Moral Reform and Innovative Traditionalism*, Op.Cit. PhD. Dissertation, p.129, PDF File, *https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/docview/818747288?pq-origsite=summon&accountid=11091*

[548] What is al-Noor, Al-Noor International Institute, *http://www.alnoorpk.com/whatisalnoor.php* A Word About The Chief Executive, "Ustaza Nighat Hashmi" *http://www.alnoorpk.com/ceo.php*
Accessed April 23, 2018.

[549] What is Al-Noor International, *https://www.alnoorpk.com/whatisalnoor.php* Accessed December 27, 2018

[550] Ibid.

[551] Ibid.

[552] Social Welfare, Al-Huda International, *https://www.alhudapk.com/social-welfare.html* Educational Programs, Al-Huda International, *https://www.alhudapk.com/social-welfare/welfare-projects/educational-programs.html*

[553] AlHuda International School, Locations, *http://aispk.org/contact/locations/*

[554] *https://www.alhudapk.com/images/Mount%20Hira%20School.pdf*

[555] *http://www.oscschool.org/About-OSCS.aspx*

[556]Rural Areas Program, AlHuda International, *https://www.alhudapk.com/social-welfare/welfare-projects/educational-programs/rural-areas-program.html*

Mathematics.[557] The teachers who teach in poor areas are themselves from lower classes; consequently, their own level of education and training is not enough to teach these needy children adequately. It might superficially seem that Alhuda International is educating the needy but my point is, that it is not according to Islamic moral principles to keep the lower classes far away from quality education. Basically AlHuda International is satisfying the elites by providing them with an exclusive environment for their children and keeping the poor away; the school makes ostentatious, token efforts to satisfy donors and justify their donations, which are mostly spent on the luxurious venues and facilities to attract more elites and retain recently converted elites. Besides, Dr. Farhat Hashmi and her family depend on these donations for their living.[558]

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Al-Huda International's schools for out-of-school children

Hashmi's institution, Al-Huda International, is spreading far and wide not only in Pakistan but around the globe with incoming donations in rupees, dollars, and pounds. One of the greatest benefits she gets is that these donations are all the *tax-free* money. Hashmi also doesn't have to pay to most of the women working at Al-Huda. "Many women do this work without pay because, according to Nasreen, they "don't need the money and are doing this for other kinds of rewards". Others, especially the office staff (some of whom are men) in accounting, sales, and communications departments accept salaries. All the senior Al-Huda figures I interviewed insisted that Al-Huda has a policy of not doing any active fund-raising ("we never ask people for money") but that they never have a shortage of funds because people donate voluntarily and generously. All they do is make information available about ongoing projects and any new ones they are planning, e.g. sponsoring students, putting a series of lectures on air, campus construction, etc. Publicity material encourages contributions to Al-Huda by citing Quranic verses such as: "Those who give alms, both men, and women, and lend to Allah a goodly loan, it will be increased manifold for them and theirs will be an honorable reward" (57: 18)."[562]

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[557] Slum Area Programs, AlHuda International, *https://www.alhudapk.com/social-welfare/welfare-projects/educational-programs/slum-areas-program.html*

[558] *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=svu5WBAmLQ4* In this interview her son said that she travels all the time, which is expensive. Also she said that she preferred private tutoring for her only son because they (both Hashmi and Her son) thought it is a waste of time to go to school, so they took private tutoring like a celebrity. And as I mention later, that her daughter said herself that she went to an elite school. Hashmi and family do not have any other source of income than AlHuda International Welfare.

[559] Mount Hira Street Children School, *https://www.alhudapk.com/images/Mount%20Hira%20School.pdf*

[560] OCS is a Success Story, *Out of School Children's School*, *http://www.oscschool.org/*

[561] Ibid.

[562] Faiza Mushtaq, *New Claimants to Religious Authority: A Movement for Women's Islamic Education, Moral Reform and Innovative Traditionalism*, Op.Cit. PhD. Dissertation, p.128, PDF File, *https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/docview/818747288?pq-origsite=summon&accountid=11091*

Hashmi's slogan "Quran for all; in every hand, in every heart" in reality, means the interpretation of the Quran through the lens of Hashmi's/Salafi's preferred Hadiths. Although she describes the Quran for all there is a contradiction as she is broadcasting her interpretation as the only truth that Pakistani Muslims should learn. There are many other Pakistani sects, who would not agree with her interpretation. However, her slogan does influence Sunni Pakistanis around the globe, and she is quite successful as Hashmi is amongst Pakistan's most influential women[563] and she was amongst the 500 most influential Muslims of 2010.[564] But, the condition and state of women in Pakistan don't change at all. As per a 2011 poll of professionals by the Thomson Reuters Foundation, Pakistan is the third most dangerous country for women in the world.[565]

Being very popular with the elites, Hashmi has successfully entrenched her conservatism in society. The wealthy and educated do not go to Madrasas, because of the schools' stereotypical stance, but join with Hashmi. "A former member of Jamiat, she always had the passion to attract the educated people of the country."[566]"Females from upper and upper middle class join Al Huda for seeking religious guidance in their daily lives."[567] Hashmi typically meets women from the elite class and many of the spectators of her 'dars' are rich women who upon joining Al Huda circle act as if they accepted Islam for the first time.[568]

As Faiza Mushtaq reports, "A disgruntled civic activist told me about Al-Huda's graduation ceremony attended by "thousands of women" at a five-star hotel, the same venue her own nonprofit group had been unable to book at reduced rates. She says Al-Huda could hold its events free of charge because the hotel had received instructions from a powerful patron: the Corps Commander, i.e. the most senior military official stationed in the city… A local newspaper reported that an Al-Huda school was functioning on a residential street of Karachi "in clear violation of DHA zoning laws…as a special case" and mentioned influence from wives of senior city administrators as a possible reason for this exemption."[569]

Hashmi was born on December 22, 1957 t to a simple, lower class family in Sargodha and was the eldest of twelve siblings – five girls and seven boys. Her father, Abdur Rehman Hashmi, was a homeopathic doctor by profession and had a lifelong association with the Jamaat-i Islami, [570]as a member of its Majlis-

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[563]"Dr. Farhat Hashmi Amongst Pakistan's Most Influential Women", *Farhat Hashmi, Quran for All- In Every Hand, In Every Heart,* http://www.farhathashmi.com/profile-section/women-power-50/ Accessed April 23, 2018.

[564] "Dr. Farhat Hashmi Amongst The 500 Most Influential Muslims-2010", Ibid, http://www.farhathashmi.com/profile-section/500-influential-muslims-2010/ Accessed April 23, 2018.

[565] FactBox-The World's Most Dangerous Counties for Women, South Asia News, *Reuters,* June 14, 2011, *https://in.reuters.com/article/idINIndia-57704120110615* Accessed on December25, 2018.

[566] Juhi Naveed, Anwaar Mohyuddin, Structure and Organization of Al-Huda International: An Institution for Female Islamic Education, European Academic Reasearch, Op.Cit. P.10, ResearchGate,*https://www.researchgate.net/publication/264528224_Structure_and_Organization_of_Al-Huda_International_An_Institution_for_Female_Islamic_Education* [accessed Dec 27 2018].

[567] Ibid, p.24.

[568] Habiba Younis, Al-Huda an Insider's View, *The Express Tribune*, August 31, 2010, *https://tribune.com.pk/story/44486/al-huda--an-insiders-view/*

[569] Faiza Mushtaq, *New Claimants to Religious Authority: A Movement for Women's Islamic Education, Moral Reform and Innovative Traditionalism*, Op.Cit. PhD. Dissertation, p. 238-9, PDF File, *https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/docview/818747288?pq-origsite=summon&accountid=11091*

[570] "Hashmi's father died in 1997 and her mother as well as siblings has by now moved to Islamabad or other cities, with the exception of one brother who remains in Sargodha, Adil points out that all of them have risen up from a simple lower-middle class lifestyle through their own struggles." Faiza Mushtaq, *New Claimants to Religious*

e-Shoora (advisory council). He had a great influence on his daughter. She also has a history of active membership in the Jamaat-i Islami, especially during her student years at a government college in Sargodha, although she broke off from it in her later career. However, she was not limited by her social class-- her social class; interestingly, her venture began because, the wife of Farooq Laghari, President of Pakistan 1993-1997, became her admirer and invited her to teach weekly Dars and lead Ramzan (Taraweeh) prayers.[571]arhat Hashmi, through her reputation in the capital city's elite circles as an effective speaker, gained support in Al-Huda's early years. It could be stated that she has followed the footsteps of Maulana Maududi and made Al-Huda a vanguard organization with a hierarchical structure. "The wealthy elites, who used to dominate Al-Huda gatherings in the early years— professional women, as well as wives of senior military officials, government bureaucrats, and industrialists—, are increasingly joined by representatives from middle-income urban groups. Members of the movement widely share a belief that they are part of an *'educated class'*."[572]Hashmi went to Scotland on a scholarship, did her Ph.D.[573] at the University of Glasgow in Scotland with specialization in Hadith literature, and came back to Pakistan. "Her feelings toward her Western education, and especially toward her PhD. from Glasgow, however, remain ambivalent: sometimes she mentions her advanced degree in Islamic Studies from a foreign university as an evidence of her academic credentials; at others, she refers to her Ph.D. degree merely a "kagaz ka tukra" (a piece of paper) that she had to acquire as a formality." [574] She is *quite right* in this perspective because her sister Nighat Hashmi didn't even have to do the Ph.D. and she is successfully running Al-Noor International on the same pattern as Al-Huda International, both nationwide in Pakistan and internationally. "In Pakistan, the institutes of Al-Noor International are alhamdullilah working quite effectively in Lahore, Islamabad, Karachi, Faisalabad, Multan, Bahawalpur, Sahiwal, Okara, Booraywala, Vehari, Liaqatpur, Khanpur, RahimyarKhan etc. Internationally, Quran Classes and courses are in running in Ireland, England, Sharjah, places in UAE, Nairobi etc."[575]

If Hashmi and her husband, Dr. Idrees Zubair (who plays an important part in Al-Huda and teaches there),[576] had not resigned from International Islamic University, where they were teaching, they might have ended up as an ordinary middle class retired Professor. Whereas now, Farhat Hashmi has built a huge empire of Al-Huda International, and her wealth and influence are greater than the generations-

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Authority: A Movement for Women's Islamic Education, Moral Reform and Innovative Traditionalism, Op.Cit. PhD. Dissertation, p. 171 and 174, PDF File, *https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/docview/818747288?pq-origsite=summon&accountid=11091*

[571]Ibid, p.110

[572] Faiza Mushtaq, "A Controversial Role Model for Pakistani Women", The Support Base for Al-Huda, Modern Achievers: Role Models in South Asia, *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, April, 2010, Par. 23, *https://samaj.revues.org/3030*

[573] It was very hard to find her PhD. Thesis. Finally, I found it thru someone sincere to Al-Huda International, but with a promise not to ever mention anything from it; she mailed me to read it. So I can't express my impression about it at all.

[574] Mumtaz Ahmad, "Media-Based Preachers and the Creation of New Muslim Publics in Pakistan", *The National Bureau of Asian Research*, Feb 2010, p. 26. http://www.nbr.org/publications/element.aspx?id=421

[575]Al-Noor Institutes Branches [Nationwide and International], *https://www.alnoorpk.com/branches.php*

[576] Dr. Farhat Hashmi's husband, Dr. Idrees Zubair belongs to a family of Ahl-e-Hadith Ulama and he completed his Dars-e-Nizami from his father Shaykh al-Hadith Shams al-Haq Multani. Dr. Farhat has also studied and received Ijazah Certificate from her father in law. According to Faiza Mushtaq, Dr. Idrees Zubair was a fellow student in the University of Punjab, when she was studying there. "She received a Masters degree in Arabic from the University of Punjab in Lahore, and went on to marry a fellow student, Idrees Zubair." Faiza Mushtaq, "A Controversial Role Model for Pakistani Women", The Support Base for Al-Huda, Modern Achievers: Role Models in South Asia, *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, Op.Cit. Par. 8, *https://samaj.revues.org/3030*

old feudal landlords in Pakistan. Al-Huda will be bequeathed to their children, who will have been to the finest elite educational institutes.[577] This would never have been possible while teaching at a University in Pakistan. Furthermore, she didn't have to write a single research article after her Ph.D. Scholarly writing might not interest her. She only reads from the traditionally existing Ahl-e-Hadith/Salafi plus Maududi's materials with easily understandable terminologies in her classes. Each of her lectures has been recorded and then replayed by (her) Al-Huda trained students. And now, after 24 years, she has built her influence significantly with Pakistanis, from higher to lower classes of the society. She followed Maulana Maududi's strategy of working from top to bottom for gaining profound influence. "The types of urban neighborhoods, where Al-Huda activities tend to cluster, contain important demographic indicators. In Karachi for instance, these areas include Clifton and Defence Housing Authority (DHA), which are by and large 'inhabited by the elite of the city… bureaucrats, politicians, business executives, and industrialists'."[578]

Al-Huda's headquarter is a huge multi-story building stand prestigiously in Islamabad. She is the most successful activist in Pakistan, who has been able to change not only her own fortune but also the norms of society according to a particular interpretation of the Quran i.e. seeing it through the lens of Ahl-e-Hadith's sect. Thus she is also fortunate to have ideological similarity with Saudis' Salafis. "One set of changes is related to their actively ridding their lives of elements that they deem un-Islamic. These facets include rituals associated with forms of Islam that are different from theirs, a number of everyday practices such as listening to music, and festivals and celebrations such as Basant and mehndis. The elimination of these practices on the basis of their being "un-Islamic" or "foreign" or both is a reflection of women's adherence to a redefined Muslim identity that has developed through their affiliation with a particular interpretation of Islam. People upholding this interpretation as the truth are negating not only the religious experiences of a different kind of Muslims but also the history of the land, in the process, ironically, creating a culture base on beliefs and practices that originate from outside the land."[579] The captivating call of the reassertion of original, unadulterated Islam is mostly welcomed in Pakistan. For them, Islam had been "contaminated" by historical additions and foreign (Hindu) influences, however, the influence of Arabic culture *is* foreign and going backward to the past, is against the eternal and universal values of the Quran. Their concept is that everything foreign may contaminate the mind of Muslim mothers, who should nurture their children in an entirely *Islamic way.*[580]Hashmi calls for disposing of local cultural traditions at weddings, funerals, functions and in everyday life practices, which she labels "Hindu culture", as the *only way* for purifying Pakistani women's families. As expected,

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[577] "Maryam Zubair: "My mother never imposed religion on us, rather inculcated in us the preparation of Akhirat and that real life is the life after death, so do what will benefit you in the heareafter. This thing helped me a lot in facing different situations in life; from wearing hijab in a teen age life while *studying in the top elite school* or being away from my family for the first time after marriage for many years….And she practices what she preaches….for her, no worry or problem is a worry but the worry for Akhirat." "Dr.Farhat Hashmi – At A Glance", *Farhat Hashmi, Quran for All-In Every Hand, In every Heart*, *http://www.farhathashmi.com/profile-section/dr-farhat-hashmi-at-a-glance/*

[578] Faiza Mushtaq, "A Controversial Role Model for Pakistani Women", The Support Base for Al-Huda, Modern Achievers: Role Models in South Asia, *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, Op.Cit. Par. 20, *https://samaj.revues.org/3030*

[579] Sadaf Ahmad, *Transforming Faith*, Op.Cit. P.186

[580] Parenting in Islam - Dr. Farhat Hashmi | MBH Summit 2016
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uQVVm_OfT4

Hashmi has been accused of disseminating hatred against Christians, Hindus, and Jews among Pakistani women residing in the West.[581] The psychological effect of this fear is that we have to save Islam, as the society is becoming conserve in the name of Islam and thus the rejection of local festivals and regarding them as Indian or Western customs—while disregarding Islam's universality— is now considered as indeed Islamic. "The rapid expansion of Al-Huda, not only within Pakistan but also to Pakistani communities worldwide, increasingly uses trope "Islam in Danger" as a rallying cry."[582] According to the Quran, the religion of Islam is the last religion from God. God has taken all the responsibility to secure it. Therefore the assertion that "Islam is in Danger" is in conflict with the Quran's claim of protection.

إِنَّا نَحْنُ نَزَّلْنَا الذِّكْرَ وَإِنَّا لَهُ لَحَافِظُونَ

It is We who have sent down the Remembrance, and We watch over it. (15:9)

Indeed, the sectarianism and "otherness" she is creating through her interpretation of the Quran is profoundly affecting society. Sadaf Ahmad, while conducting her research on Al-Huda International, commented sadly that when she went there, at myriad times, she had to make a conscious struggle not to leave when the *dars* (class) leader expressed unkindness for Shias or criticized music, dance, and other cultural mores. Perceiving the bigotry against those persons and for practices that are regarded as the essence of culture was agonizing. She further foresees the future of a society in which this chauvinism is on the rise as terrifying.[583]

"In 2004, the Hashmi family immigrated to Canada. While keeping al-Huda Pakistan functional, Hashmi opened al-Huda centers in Canada to reach out to the South Asian population there. She was initially ignored by the Canadian government, but the situation changed when Hashmi called Osama bin Laden an Islamic warrior and a "soldier of Islam"... Her work permit was first denied because of an error in her immigration application and rejected again when her employer, the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), was paying her an amount much higher than allowed for religious teachers invited to Canada. Finally, on September 30, 2005, the Canadian Immigration Office issued a letter: We regret to inform you that we are unable to approve your requests. You are required to leave Canada immediately. Failure to depart Canada may result in enforcement action being initiated against you."[584] "A girl and three young women left Canada to join ISIS in Syria after studying at the Al-Huda Islamic Institute in Mississauga, Ont. — a school whose sister institution in Pakistan is now connected to the mass shooting in California. Tashfeen Malik, one of the San Bernardino, Calif., shooters, attended classes six days a week for more than a year at Al-Huda's Pakistan campus, a school spokeswoman told The Associated Press."[585]

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581 Nadeem F. Paracha, Fissures in the middle, *Dawn*, December 20, 2012, https://www.dawn.com/news/772732/fissures-in-the-middle [accessed Jan 09 2019].

582 Anita M. Weiss, *Interpreting Islam, Modernity, And Women's Right in Pakistan*, (New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2014), P.130.

583 Sadaf Ahmad, *Transforming Faith*, Op.Cit. p.20.

584 Farhan Zahid, Farhat Hashmi: Mentor to Pakistan's Future Jihadist Mothers, Militant Leadership Monitor, Personalities Behind the Insurgency, Vol. VI, Issue 11, November 2015, P.5, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/303550756_FARHAT_HASHMI_MENTOR_TO_PAKISTAN'S_FUTURE_JIHADIST_MOTHERS [accessed Jan 09 2019].

585 New English Review, Breaking News in Canada: Four Al-Huda Islamic Institute Students went to join ISIS in Syria, Tuesday, 8 December 2015, https://www.newenglishreview.org/blog_direct_link.cfm?blog_id=63066&Breaking-News-in-Canada--Four-Al-Huda-Islamic--Institute--Students-went-to-join-ISIS-in-Syria-

Hashmi acts as a device that projects God's voice into the heads of those who venerate her to make them think God is speaking to them. She herself claims, "People accuse me of preaching my views, they are confused, I refrain from using my personal opinion in my lesson. I just translate the word of God. So people don't have a problem with me, because my message is from the Quran, they have a problem with God."[586] "One of Al-Huda's biggest selling points is to teach students Arabic so that they can understand the Quran without translations."[587] Always following the Arabic lessons are Hashmi's interpretations, which further transformed and conditioned students' minds, lacking the environment of questioning, her students only listen and follow. Her followers are like military trainees, for them following the *"perfect"* rituals as *"described"*, is the only *true* and *easiest* way to become virtues and pious. The neo-conservatives use rituals as a tool to generate their supremacy and then control the technically literate and illiterate classes. They rule them like the head of the military, which controls and manipulate his regiment. Likewise, Hashmi (and her trained students) in her dars recites Dua with her hands up in front of her face and she closes her eyes focusing herself in contemplation. The listeners are asked to follow her with the same body posture and ask to contemplate like her. Her students treat her with an aura of reverence. After the class, they often wait in line to shake or kiss her hands. A report about the classes provided the following information:"Farzana Hassan-Shahid, a researcher and freelance journalist who has attended several of Hashmi's lectures -- including one last month at al-Huda -- describes as many as 200 women sitting on the classroom floor, turning the pages of their textbooks in unison so as not to irritate Hashmi. "These women are sitting just absolutely rapt," she says, noting the students call Hashmi "madam" and carry her purse behind her. "She's not loud and vociferous -- in her gentle, meek way she's very assertive." [588] Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy mentioned that "This morning's lecture includes a perspective on the recent earthquake in Pakistan. "We must understand why such calamities take place," says Dr. Farhat Hashmi, addressing the room in Urdu. "The people in the area where the earthquake hit were involved in immoral activities and God has said that he will punish those who do not follow his path." Her students nod and murmur in agreement."[589]

Hashmi lays emphasis on extra prayers, as she says they lead towards God's love. This is despite the fact that spending additional time in prescribed extra "perfect set" of prayers would distract her followers who are now all over the globe—from every other serious issue like, social injustice and economic disparity in the society. It is indeed burdening Muslims with that which God has not demanded and belittling that which is commanded. As she explains, "Since those who love each other for Allah's sake

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[586] Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy, "Islamic School for Women: Faithful or Fundamental?" *The Globe and Mail,* Toronto, October 29, 2005, in "Burka-promoting Pakistani preacher Farhat Hashmi barred from entering Canada?", Tarek Fatah, November 29, 2012, Blogpost, *http://salalbalouch.blogspot.com/2012/11/burka-promoting-pakistani-preacher.html* Accessed April 23, 2018.

[587] New Infrastructures for Religious Learning and Activism, *Institute of Business Administration Karachi (IBA), http://www.iba.edu.pk/iba_social_sciences_club_held_first_edition_faculty_presentation_series.php*

[588] Nicholas Kohler, "Macleans magazine on Farhat Hashmi: A Muslim scholar is here illegally - teaching an extreme brand of Islam", *Macleans Magazine*, Canada, August 12, 2006. "A controversial Pakistani scholar living in Canada who, critics charge, teaches her female students a fundamentalist brand of Islam promoting polygamy and subservience to men, remains here illegally some nine months after immigration officials demanded she leave the country, federal court documents obtained by Maclean's reveal."
http://muslim-chronicle.blogspot.com/2006_08_12_archive.html

[589] Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy, "Islamic School for Women: Faithful or Fundamental?" *The Globe and Mail,* Toronto, October 29, 2005, in "Burka-promoting Pakistani preacher Farhat Hashmi barred from entering Canada?", Tarek Fatah, November 29, 2012, Blogpost, *http://salalbalouch.blogspot.com/2012/11/burka-promoting-pakistani-preacher.html* Accessed April 23, 2018. https://lubpak.com/archives/7225

worry not only about each other's worldly success but also about the akhirah, they are always on the lookout for ways to further each other in good deeds. Namaz and dhikr reminders, urging each other to nafl ibadah, and correcting each other's mistakes all become a constant part of the relationship."[590] More to the point, excessive prayers are not favored in Islamic teachings. The Prophet (ﷺ) said, "Do good deeds properly, sincerely and *moderately*, and receive good news because one's good deeds will not make him enter Paradise." They asked, "Even you, O Allah's Messenger (ﷺ)?" He said, "Even I, unless and until Allah bestows His Pardon and Mercy on me."[591]

The evil eye is another matter that brings bitterness in relationships and sows the seeds of animosity; it is based only on a superstition that deviates from the basic value of love and care in the family and in society generally. It is also a drift away from the dogma that everything happens to us is from God, not from others' good or ill wishes. It can end the longest relationships between families and friends. However, Dr. Hashmi has a different stand on this issue.[592] Alhuda International has designed a course on Evil eye and Magic. It says, "Highly Recommended Course for All!" The course name is "Healing and Shifa (healing and cure) in the light of Quran and Sunnah and is taught by Dr. Farhat Hashmi, live from AlHuda Canada. The advertising for it states "Get Islamic guidance and learn Du'as on the spiritual treatment of various Spiritual ailments according to Qur'an and Sunnah. Learn Islamic treatment and the reality of various ailments including the evil eye, jinn possession, sihr (black magic and witchcraft), and others."[593] "The evil eye is like an arrow or spear that leaves the soul of the envier and goes to the person that is envied..... It is an important fact to know that the evil eye has no effect except by Allah's will. A man can give himself the evil eye and he can also give it to others. It can afflict someone without even being seen by the envier. For example, a blind man cannot see a person, but he can still cast the evil eye, or perhaps if the person is not around and they are described to the envier without being seen by him, it can afflict that person. It can also be afflicted by one being amazed at himself without being envious of himself or others. The evil eye can be done by anyone, even a loved one or a righteous person…… If the person who causes the evil eye is known, command him to make ablution (wudu) and then the afflicted person should shower with the water from the ablution. (Sunan Abu Dawud 419)."[594] The notable point is how one would be sure that this specific person has the ill will that has afflicted another person. And more than that, according to this theory, the person who gave the ills would do the ablution and the affected one would bathe in his/her used filthy water. Consequently, the affected person would suffer twice and the second time, on his/her own choice, a more severe and nasty physical suffering. This is an impossible hypothesis, which results in creating distance and hatred in society. These uncertain allegations are radically against the Quran's aspired values of overlooking the faults of

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[590]Zainab Abaid, "Putting Love to the Test", *Farhat Hashmi, Quran for All-In Every Hand, In Every Heart*, *http://www.farhathashmi.com/articles-on-tafsir/putting-love-to-the-test/*

[591] Sahih al-Bukhari, To make the Heart Tender (Ar-Riqaq), "(18)Chapter: The adoption of a middle course, and the regularity of deeds", 6467 Book 81, Hadith 56, https://sunnah.com/bukhari/81/56

[592]International Islamic Research Center, "Nazar-e-Bad Aur Hasad Se Bachne Ki Duain -- Evil Eye -- By Dr Farhat Hashmi -- 2018", Islamic Audios.net, Jan 6, 2018. *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZhFki3_1XB4*

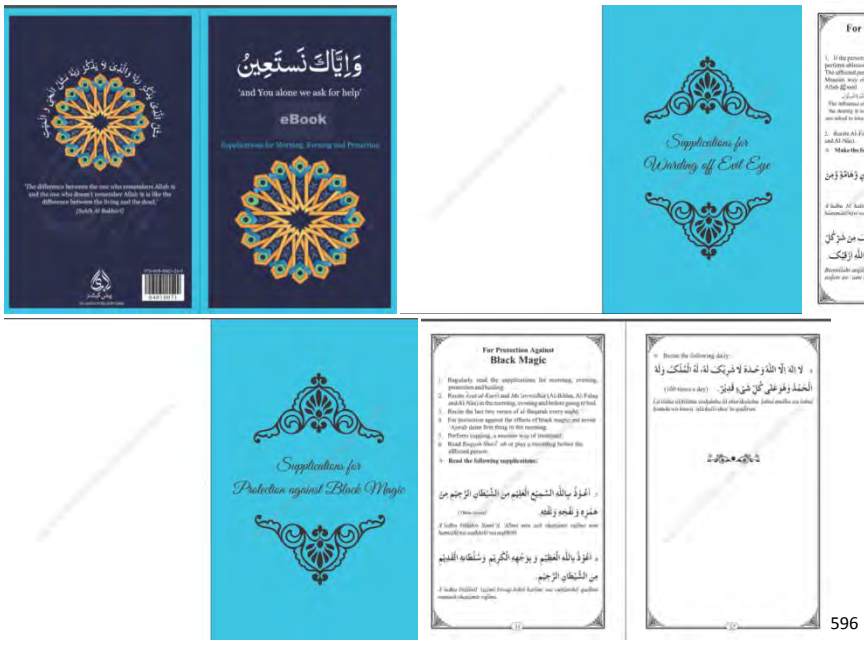
[593]Al-Huda Online, Short Course, Healing and Shifa| Live by Dr. Farhat Hashmi, *https://www.alhudaus.com/product/healing-and-shifa-live-by-dr-farhat-hashmi/*

[594] Dr. Farhat Hashmi's Students, "Ruqyah - Spiritual Healing", November 14, 2012, Facebook Post, *https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=433521173362775&id=221323044582590* Accessed April 23, 2018.

others and building respect for each other in society. The Quran states, “Believers stay away from conjecture; acting upon some conjecture may lead to sin, do not spy on one another or back-bite” (49:12). However, Dr. Hashmi's students further state, “If someone has good news and he knows people will envy him because of it, he should guard it by keeping it secret. NOTE: If you know a person is famous for being envious and is known to affect people with the evil eye, it is important to keep away from him.”[595]

This is against human nature; humans tend to share their happiness with their loved ones. People are not psychologically healthy if they suspect others as envier and keep their good news as a secret. This is a negative personalities’ action on good news.

For protection against the effects of black magic, she prescribes cupping (an old traditional method of healing) and to eat 7 Ajwa dates (the most expensive kind of dates) first thing every morning, which is impossible for lower classes in Pakistan. Hence, instead of love, kindness, forgiveness, she teaches that people around us have bad intentions for us. When the intellects of the educated class are trapped into guarding themselves against superstitious mythical beliefs, how will the injustices going on for generations against poor Pakistanis, minorities, and especially rural women end?



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Supplications for Warding off Evil Eye and Protection against Black Magic

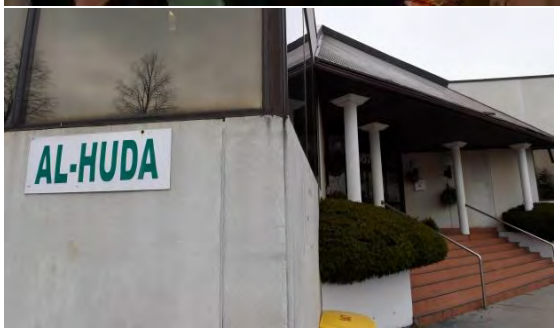
The challenge is how to move these educated women away from Hashmi’s enchantment. Here, it is crucially important to understand that women’s voluntary acceptance of subjugation is neither necessarily evil nor unique to Pakistan, but can be highly problematic in a society challenged by lack of social integration and valorization of violence. Hence, it is important to work to lessen her influence, which is entrenching sectarian exclusivity in the Pakistani community. How and why have such institutions, managed to escape from scrutiny by Pakistan’s governmental authorities and even received

[595] Ibid.

[596] Al-Huda International Welfare Foundation, (وِلَّاكَنَسۡتَعِيۡن) And You Alone We Ask for Help, Dua'ain Awr Azkaar, *http://www.alhudapk.com/products/alhuda-products.html*

plots of land in exclusive locations? Even though military governments have taken advantage of influential Ulama, Madrasas are generally deprived of government needed patronage. The governments have shown favoritism. For instance, Dr. Farhat Hashmi has been bestowed with a huge land in Islamabad. However, other rather poor and needed Madrasas remain unfortunate. Besides, the general trend is that the administration, who is usually the founding member or leader of the group, becomes the owner of the property. Thus, Lodhi has convincingly suggested, “In any form of a reform plan for the Madrasas, nothing concrete, such as building or pilots, should be allocated to Madrasas permanently as they become a permanent asset for the madrasa administration and their generations and are of less use for the enrolled students."[597]

Dr. Farhat Hashmi

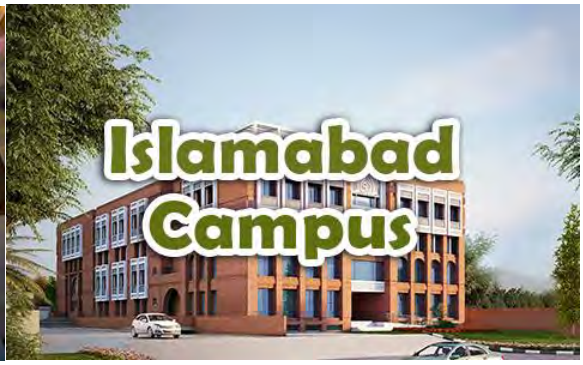


Al-Huda International Mississauga Branch in Canada Al-Huda International Head office Islamabad

[597] Maryam Siddiqa Lodhi, Politics of Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan, Islamization and Enlightened Moderation, Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan Between Islamization and Enlightened Moderation, Op.Cit. p.128.

Al-Huda International Canada, the donor base in North America has also proved strong enough to pay for a 1.6-acre lot in Mississauga in 2007 and fund the construction of the third Al-Huda campus complex, which is now ready. The organization foresees further growth and institutionalization in its future, signaled by plans for two ambitious new campus complexes. One is located in Islamabad's under-development H-11/4 sector where a parcel of land was granted to Al-Huda by the government of Pakistan. Construction work began in 2005 and is still ongoing, with the total project cost being reported as Rs. 280 million. A scaled-down version of this complex is also currently under construction in Karachi's Defense Housing Authority.

Al-Huda International Islamic School in Karachi



Its Islamabad branch i.e. under construction

The charismatic and influential religious leaders, like Hashmi, are actually silent on the subject of social justice, even though their voices are mesmerizing people. They have colorful appealing shops to attract both rich and poor, to sell their interpretation, and convert people who become spellbound and follow these leaders blindly. They have the platform to educate the mainstream and the required influence to inspire their minds. Ironically, Dr. Farhat Hashmi never raised her voice against the injustices against rural Pakistani women, the onslaught of killings, and humiliation of the minorities. Why don't the educators of the Quran, who recite the Quranic verses and the Hadith of the Prophet in their every other sentence, raise their voices against the horrible injustices in Pakistan? In all her lifelong teachings, how is it that Hashmi couldn't find a single verse denouncing the atrocities against the minorities in Pakistan? Why is her "understanding" of the Quran exclusively limited to the influential Ahl-e-Hadith sect?

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Then again, it is a general approach of the conservative Ulama; they concentrate their emphasis on personal piety and ignore involvement in social justice. Barbara Metcalf explains that the Deoband movement and others--including Ahl-i Hadith and Barelvis--responded to the loss of Islamic rulers, Islamic law (and later, the caliphate itself) by "interiorizing" Islam. She points out that the Ulama "fostered a kind of turning away from issues of the organization of state and society, toward a concern with the moral qualities of individual Muslims."[599] Their emphasis on sectarian exclusivity further fragmented the society while furthering them from the Quran's fundamental objectives of socioeconomic justice.

Madrasa Curriculum Indoctrinates "Otherness":

There is no doubt that sectarian violence is a threat to society, and various social institutions, including Madrasas, can and do create and maintain sectarianism. Traditionalism and dependence on archaic curricula are two important characteristics of Madrasas. Traditionality is mirrored in Madrasas' concerns to the point of obsession, with rituals and individual behavior including dress codes. This traditional mindset is, certainly, unfavorable to the mental progress of the students and a fundamental obstacle to any productive role of these institutions in modern society.[600]

According to Mumtaz Ahmad, "A close scrutiny of the madrasa curriculum does not, in any way, indicate anything that can even remotely be considered as inciting to or inculcating violence and militancy in students. However, like all curricula in religious seminaries—whether Islamic, Christian, or Jewish—the madrasa curriculum remains exclusivist and does not entertain the possibility of any doubt in the veracity of its theological claims. It is in this sense, at the most, that one can describe the madrasa curriculum as "extremist," that is, the emphatic and absolute affirmation of its own truth claims." He further grieves; "any idea of "pluralism" or "relativism" in the context of the belief in the essential truth of Islam would be sheer anathema to the Ulama."[601] Other than the exclusion of worldly matters,

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[598] Nadeem F. Paracha, Fissures in the middle, *Dawn*, December 20, 2012, https://www.dawn.com/news/772732/fissures-in-the-middle

[599] Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband 1860-1900*, (New Jersey:Princeton,1982), p.351-2.

[600] Ali Riaz, Faithful Education Madrassahs in South Asia, Op.Cit. p.3-4.

[601] Mumtaz Ahamad, *Islamic Education in Bangladesh and Pakistan Trends in Tertiary Institutions*, Mumtaz Ahmad and Matthew J. Nelson, op.cit. p.27, http://www.cippusa.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Islamic-Education-in-Pak-Bangladesh.pdf.

Madrasas are also inclined towards intensifying sectarian divisions, by not allowing their students to look beyond their own sect. As Akhtar Hassan Malik argues, knowledge communicated throughout daily classwork is designed to support sectarian identities. Generally, students are severely prohibited from studying books or any category of literature produced by the academics of other sects. In this way, a madrasa teacher highlighted, "As teachers, it is our obligation to teach whatever we perceive is appropriate for our students". Such standpoints and praxis underline that the goal of madrasa teachers is to influence students' knowledge and retain it within the defined parameters that they demarcate.[602]
They rationalize their failure to include contents from other sects' curricula as securing students' minds from "doubts". "It has been observed that many madrasa managers and teachers strictly forbid students from reading books written by Muslim scholars from other maslaks and, indeed, any books not included on the prescribed syllabus 'which they believe might create *doubts* in their minds about the aims of the Madrasas."[603] They limit themselves to their own school even if other schools have better ideas on certain issues. This is counter to the agreed understanding in Islamic tradition that no human interpretation can be as certain as absolute truth. Therefore, it is a customary tradition to say at the end of every fatwa *Wallahu A'lamu Bis Sawab* (God knows best the right thing). "The process of formulating the divine law was therefore clearly the result of human scholarly endeavor. This introduced a duality in the authority of the law: If correctly understood, it represents God's will and is absolute, undoubted by the pious believer. But in as far as it is the result of fallible human intellect, it cannot directly represent God's will and is only at best so close to it as can be humanly attained. The scholar cannot put himself in God's place and give divine authority to his interpretation; he must—as every legal opinion does—conclude with "God knows best" (*wa-Allāh aʿlam*.)"[604]
The Islamic legal tradition was established with explicitly pluralistic, discursive, and investigative shared fundamental traits, that became one of its distinguishing characteristics. Indeed, al-Shafi'i (d.204/820) had one set of legal inferences that he considered appropriate in Iraq but transformed his views and judgments when he moved to Egypt to consider the altered conditions and social disparities. This flexibility is captured in the Islamic legal saying, "It may not be denied that laws will change with the change of circumstances" (*la yunkar taghayyur al-ahkam bi taghayyar al-zaman wa al-ahwal*). [605] "One of the most important aspects of the epistemological paradigm upon which Islamic jurisprudence was built was the presumption that on most matters, the Divine Will is unattainable, and even if attainable, no person or institution has the authority to claim certitude in realizing this Will. This is why the classical

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[602] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities" op.cit. p.120. https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf

[603] Qamruddin, *Hindustan Ki Dini Darsgahe: Kul Hind Survey*. (New Delhi: Hamdard Education Society, 1996), p.53 as referred by Yoginder Sikand, "Voices for Reform in the Indian Madrasas", in *The Madrasa in Asia Political Activism and Transnational Linkages, ISIM series on contemporary Muslim societies,* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), p.55.

[604] Knut S. Vikør, "Sharīʿah", The Theory of uṣūl al-fiqh, Formulation, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Islam and Politics, in Oxford Islamic Studies Online,* http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/article/opr/t342/e0026?_hi=3&_pos=19#match

[605] Khaled Abou El Fadl, "The Shari'ah", in *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*, Edited by John L. Esposito and Emad El-Din Shahin, Op.Cit. p.12.

jurists rarely spoke in terms of legal certainties (*yaqin* and *qat'*). Rather, as is apparent in the linguistic practices of the classical juristic culture, Muslim jurists, for the most part, spoke in terms of probabilities or in terms of the preponderance of evidence and belief (*ghalabat al-zann*). Muslim jurists emphasized that only God possesses perfect knowledge—human knowledge in legal matters is tentative or even speculative; it must rely on the weighing of competing factors and the assertion of judgment based on an assessment of the balance of evidence on any given matter."[606] This is still true today.

Likewise, John Esposito explains that the central theme of Islamic reform is formulating the principal distinction between Shariah, i.e. unchangeable divinely revealed principles and values, and fiqh, i.e. human interpretations that were produced as a scholarly response in history (in other words, Islamic laws generated by men). These manufactured laws must be able to provide answers to varying situations and new issues emerging in modernity.[607] Similarly, Fazlur Rahman (1919-1988) argued that traditional interpretations of the Quran's message were conditioned by the circumstances in which they were produced. Furthermore, although they may well have been suitable to address the needs of the time in which they were produced, they must not be confused with the Quran's core message itself. That message must be understood anew by believers in all their diverse circumstances so that they may devise ways to live in accordance with it. The process of changing the traditional interpretations can continue indefinitely. There is no fixed or honored point at which the predetermining effective history is exempted from questioning and change. It needs an adequate Quranic hermeneutical method.[608] Hence, there is a difference between respecting traditions and regarding them as sacred. Likewise, Shakil Auj (1960-2014) recommended that instead of interpreting the Quran via traditions, the dominant traditional mainstreams' views should be scrutinized through the Quranic perspective. He considered the Quran as the basic source of Islamic understanding and believed it provides an explanation of its meaning.[609] The Quran is indeed the only undisputed and universally accepted fundamental text of Islam. Scrutinizing the heritage of hadith through a holistic Quranic lens would result in more pluralistic and rationally coherent perspectives than are on display today in Pakistan. Auj was convinced, based on his engagement with the Quran itself, that religion teaches love and respect for humanity, rather than dividing humanity into "us" and "them." God is universal, as is the message delivered by His Prophets. Finally, these lines of reasoning could be encapsulated by John Esposito's following arguments, "Contemporary reformers, emphasizing the importance of religious freedom and religious pluralism, have returned to the Quran as the single, authoritative source that all Muslims agree is the starting point for conversation. They point to verses such as Quran 49:13, which states that God deliberately made human beings into different nations and tribes so that we might come to know one another. Similarly, Quran 30:22 asserts diversity as a deliberate choice of God's creation, while Quran 2:148 affirms that scripture comes from God and that each community has its own direction. Thus, all communities should "race to do good deeds" so that God can bring them together. Quran 5:48 declares that God has assigned a law and a path to each religion in order to test its followers. Therefore, all are to do good, knowing that they will return to God and that God will clarify matters for everyone. The same chapter (Quran 5:69) confirms that those members of each faith tradition who follow its teachings will

[606] Ibid, p.12.
[607] John L. Esposito, *The Future of Islam*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), p.92-3.
[608] Fazlur Rahman, Islam and Modernity Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition, Op. cit., p. 11.
[609] Shakil Auj, *Ta'birat* (Karachi: Faculty of Islamic Studies, University of Karachi), June 2013, p. 79.

go to Paradise in the Afterlife. In light of all these verses, reformist scholars argue that religious pluralism is a Quranic mandate. Since God is to be the judge of right and wrong, people should not invest time in fighting about differences in belief, but rather they should compete with each other in doing good works. In addition, contemporary reformers call upon people to learn to handle their differences through dialogue and working together, so that diversity and unity can exist simultaneously within a single nation."[610]

Nevertheless, students in the Madrasas are currently are prepared to believe that their sect is the only true form of Islam and all others are mistaken. Consequently, they believe that they have to work assiduously to guard the 'true Islam' at any cost and likewise to propagate it to the people whose religions are either "adulterated" or lack the authenticity of a God-bestowed epistemology. Such views have the potential to deepen sectarian clashes, which are already destabilizing Pakistan.[611] The growth of Madrasas and escalated violence between numerous sectarian groups has profoundly affected the mainstream society. Their world-view perceives social reality in terms of faith. The 'other' is the non-Muslim, the heretic, the blasphemer, and even the supporter of another sect or a Westernized non-observing Muslim. Ever since the creation of Pakistan, the Ulama have struggled to enable themselves at the expense of the 'other.' After the Islamic revolution in Iran and ascent of the Taliban in Afghanistan, this practice of self-empowerment has become combative or, at the very least, much more violent and self-confident than before.[612] The link between the sectarian Madrasas and militancy became evident when the background of heads of these establishments, especially their educational background, was inspected. For instance, Haq Nawaz Jhangvi and Azam Tariq, the two main chiefs of the SSP, Sipah-i-Sahaba Pakistan,[613] studied in Binori Town madrasa in Karachi.[614]

"The earliest Madrasas refuted Greek philosophy, which was seen as an intellectual invasion of the Muslim ideological space. Since the rise of the West, Madrasas, and more so the revivalist movements outside the Madrasas, refute Western philosophies. Thus there are books given in the reading lists for Aliya (BA) of 1988 by the Deobandis refuting capitalism, socialism, and feudalism. These books are no longer listed but they are in print and in the libraries of the Madrasas. The Jamaat-i-Islami probably goes to great lengths—judging from its 2002 syllabus—to make the students aware of Western domination, the exploitative potential of Western political and economic ideas, and the disruptive influence of

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[610] John L. Esposito, Natana J. Delong-BAS, *Sharia, What Everyone Needs to Know*, Op.Cit., p.157-8.

[611] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities" op.cit. p.122. *https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf*

[612] Tariq Rahman, "Language, Religion and Identity in Pakistan: Language-Teaching in Pakistan Madrassas", Ethnic Studies Report, Vol. XVI, No. 2, July 1998, available on Research Gate website, p.210, *https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265146936_Language_Religion_and_Identity_in_Pakistan_Language-Teaching_in_Pakistan_Madrassas*.

[613] "Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) was founded in September 1985, a time of rising Sunni-Shia tensions in the Punjabi city of Jhang. With support from the regime of Zia al-Huq and funding from Saudi Arabia, the SSP soon became Pakistan's most prominent anti-Shia militant group. It has since been involved in terrorism, violent sectarianism and local and national electoral politics." "Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan", Mapping Militant Organizations, Narrative Summary, Stanford University, February 15, 2012, *http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/147*

[614] Ali Riaz, Faithful Education Madrassahs in South Asia, Op.Cit. p.111.

Western liberty and individualism on Muslim societies."[615] The educational dialogues and praxis in contemporary Pakistani Madrasas are significantly entrenched in Muslim supremacy. The madrasa staffs have a tendency to depict the Muslim intellectual legacy as superior and faultless and deprecate the achievements of other nation-states. Such types of restrained knowledge and opinionated standpoints are not favorable to the development of analytical aptitudes in madrasa students.[616]

In leading Madrasas, students study Urdu from government textbooks that tend to instill the feeling of nationalism and the glorification of war. Additionally, various Madrasas teach books written as a response to modernity. These antiquated books feel it obligatory to advocate Islamic customs of behavior. In these books, history typically starts with the fall of Spain at the hands of Moorish prince Tariq Bin Ziad. Also, the books contain assertions like Englishmen were always the enemies of the Muslims and instructions that Muslims should embrace particular behaviors to challenge the modern advances that may intrude upon a Muslim's identity.[617] Moreover, they rationalize sectarianism as their traditional identity. According to Metcalf, "…by defining others as adversaries, the religious leaders enhanced their own sense of worth."[618] Furthermore, the students do not readily make friends or respect those from the outside world. They are being raised along sectarian lines. "Other students considered Muslims from other sects as bigger enemies than non-Muslims; still, they often attributed the condition of sectarian tension in Pakistan to other religions, like the following madrasa student who blamed Jews for sectarian conflict: "Enemies are there like Jews, etc., conspirators; they are conspiracy people, they conspire against Islam. In Pakistan, due to these conspiracies, one sect is made to fight with others, by saying such things that one becomes the enemy of the other. They do so to demolish Islam and to bring their religion [to be] superior/dominating."[619]

The Madrasas teach 'Manazra' (debate) in the last year of their education via some small booklets,. However, the central part of their pedagogy is to prepare students to *realize* their *difference* from *others* from day one. "Ilm al-ikhtilaf forms a central component of the syllabus in several Madrasas today because each Maslak or school of thought and its associated Madrasas regards the refutation of other Muslim groups as one of its primary functions. This serves to stress its own claims to Islamic authenticity."[620] Besides, the texts for sectarian repudiation are more commonly in Urdu than in Arabic

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[615] Tariq Rahman, Denizens of Alien Worlds, A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan, Op.Cit. p.88.

[616] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities" op.cit. p.124. *https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf*

[617] Uzma Anzar, "Islamic Education A Brief History of Madrassas With Comments on Curricula and Current Pedagogical Practices", Draft, *Op.Cit.* p.17, PDF File *http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1121703274255/1439264-1126807073059/Islamic_Education_Paper.pdf*.

[618] Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in The British India: Deoband 1860-1900*, (Princeton University Press, 1982), p.199.

[619]Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), *Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas,* US Commission on International Religious Freedom, Op.Cit. *https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf*, p.103.

[620] Yoginder Sikand, "Voices for Reform in the Indian Madrasas" in *The Madrasa in Asia Political Activism and Transnational Linkages*, ISIM series on contemporary Muslim societies, OpCit. p.51.

or Persian; consequently, they can effortlessly be understood by the students, instead of simply being memorized.[621] Tariq Rahman notices in his research that the embedding of each sect's '*only truth*' is entrenched in students' minds via Madrasas' ambiance, pedagogy, and curriculum. Maulana Mohammad Hussain, Nizam-e-Madrasa Jamiat us-Salafia (Ahl-i-Hadith) in Islamabad, stated that 'comparative religions' was imparted in the final Alamiya (MA) class and it consisted of refutations of heretical beliefs. Islam was substantiated as the only true religion, rebutting other religions. The library did contain books rebutting other sects and sub-sects but they were not required in the curriculum. Maulana Mohammad Ishaq Zafar of the Jamia Rizvia Aziz ul Uloom (Barelvi) in Rawalpindi stated that books used did not explicitly attack other other sects. But, throughout the interpretation of texts, the *maslak* was conveyed to the student. Students in their final year, when asked particularly about the teaching of the *maslak*, stated that it was imparted through questions and answers, and interpretation of texts; occasionally some teachers recommend additional reading material particularly for the repudiation of the doctrines of other sects and sub-sects. Recent curricula list no book on *maslak* for the Deobandis. The Barelvis curricula state 'comparative religions' but no precise books. The Ahl-i-Hadith maintains approximately the same elective curricula as before. The Shia Madrasas list books that include comparative religions but Shia beliefs are imparted as the only true ones. Polemical pamphlets asserting that there are intrigues against Shias are accessible. Such pamphlets assert Shia divergences from 'the correct' interpretation of the faith; they are also in distribution among Sunni Madrasas and religious organizations. Furthermore, some handbooks for teachers state that Quranic verses about contentious issues should be imparted with great concentration and students should memorize them.[622] "The Deoband course for the Aliya (BA) degree included five books refuting Ahmadi beliefs....The Jamaat-i-Islami's syllabus (2002) includes four books for the refutation of the Qadiani religion'. Aside from the Ahmedis, other beliefs deemed to be heretical are also refuted. All these books are written in a polemical style and are in Urdu."[623]

Throughout daily class-work, sectarian disputes are brought about by the teachers who try to show the errors intrinsic to other sects, and are then internalized by the students. This is then fortified in the speech-making lessons, which inculcate students in portraying their ideology as the only "true" ideology. Akhtar Hassan Malik further cited an example of the reproduction of sectarian ideologies in the class. He presents an excerpt from classwork to underline the nature of arguments teachers utilizes to reproduce sectarian ideologies. "During a lecture, the teacher told the class about an incident that took place in his village. He said that there once lived an adherent to the Ahl-e-Hadith sect of Islam, whom he [teacher] decided to intermingle with more often so as to make him realize that he was following the wrong path—a path that would ultimately lead him to destruction in this world and in the hereafter... After a continuous preaching for 6-months, and sharing some reading material with him, Alhamdulillah, he finally converted to the Barelvi beliefs. We [Barelvi Muslims] embraced him open-heartedly and congratulated him on entering into the factual Islam. We gave him the good news that from now onwards he is a true Muslim and the doors of Hell have been closed on him forever. At this spot, a

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[621]Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities" op.cit. p.125. *https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf*

[622] Tariq Rahman, Denizens of Alien Worlds: A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan, op.Cit. p.86-7.

[623] Ibid, p.88.

student sought permission to share another incident, which was somehow different from this one. After receiving permission, the student explained that there was a group of rigid Deobandis in their village that kept on propagating their faith despite certain restrictions. Occasionally, some physical confrontations also occurred, but they won't refrain from their activities. Due to their efforts, a Barelvi Muslim had converted his faith to a Deobandi. What directive do we have for him? Teacher: How old is he? Student: Around 62 or 63. Teacher: Let him know that all his life-time prayers have been dissipated and he has become a MURTID [divert from Islam]. His Nikah [marriage contract] with his wife has culminated and any relationship with her would now fall under 'adultery.' In the present day life when we are surrounded by innumerable evil attractions, staying firm in our faith is the most difficult struggle. Hats off to those who protect their 'religious beliefs'."[624]

Likewise, Taqi Usmani while recommending geography, Tajwid, maths, theology, history, Sirah, Persian, English, and Urdu as part of madrasa curriculum, specifies the imperative need to include Tqabil-e-Firqi Batila (Comparative study of "*void sects*"). Their refutable arguments should be incorporated as well.[625] Thus, implicit demonization of other prevailing sects is justified and considered as their sectarian religious identity. In this manner, they are sectarian exclusivists in their temperament. "Seemingly trivial distinctions of hand positions in prayer and the exact wording of the call to prayer have become highly divisive markers of difference. These differences between Sunnis are no longer trivial. They have become a pretext for animosity and violence."[626] In order to be a "virtuous Pakistani Muslim", it becomes necessary to imitate the dress code and perfect rituals as described by the head of each sect. Sectarianism inhibits cohesion in society and thus results in radicalism. Hence, according to Ali Riaz, the close relationship between madrasa and sectarianism or denominationalism is an issue of severe concern. As Sam Robinson observed, in reality, the 'certainty' of their righteousness is in contrast to the requirement of humility in order to be virtuous in the eyes of God. "In a discussion with leading mullahs in the Swat valley in 1990 I raised the question of human perfection and they unanimously affirmed their own sinless state, as well as claiming the same for any who follow their model of piety. Such assurance is a key component of the ideology of those leaning towards militancy. It is a certainty at odds with the more self-critical theology of Sufi tradition."[627]In fact, it is arrogance and egotism; in other words, it is an affectation of spiritual superiority, which creates distances, instead of inclusivity, which ensues in humanity. It blinds followers to anything other than the decrees of their religious leaders.

Religion teaches love and respect for humanity, rather than dividing humanity into "us" and "them." God is universal, as is the message delivered by His Prophets. Therefore, we need to promote and promulgate goodness, as the Quran says, "Vie with one another in good works. (5:48). For each [community] We have appointed from you a law [giver]) and a way. Had God willed, He could have made you one community? But that He might try you by that which He has given you [He has made you as you are]. So vie with one another in good works (5:48) For each [religious following] is a direction

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[624] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities" op.cit. p.125. *https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf*

[625] M. Taqi Usmani, Dars-e-Nizami ki kitabain kaisay Parhain aur Parhaian? (How to read and teach the books of Dars-e-Nizami?), (Karachi: Maktaba-e-Nomania, 2003), p.69-71. *https://archive.org/stream/DarsiNizamiMuftiTaqi/Darsi%20Nizami%20-%20Mufti%20Taqi#page/n42/mode/1up*

[626] Sam Robinson, Rousing Religion, Islamic Preaching on the Pakistan-Afghan Border, Op.cit. p. 64.

[627] Sam Robinson, Rousing Religion, Islamic Preaching on the PakistaWhy isn't this reference in the footnotes?n-Afghan Border, Op.cit. p.161.

toward which it faces, so the race to [all that is] good. Wherever you may be, Allah will bring you forth [for judgment] altogether. Indeed, Allah is over all things competent." (2:148) Thus, "there are more than 100 Quranic verses that not only affirm freedom of religion and conscience but also honor other prophetic messengers; Quran 28:46 states "We have always sent messengers to people." The Quran recognizes all the biblical prophets and the truth of God's other revelations to Moses and Jesus (the Torah, the Psalms, and the Gospels) such as Quran 4:163-164. Quran 5:44-47 states that judgment within each religion is to be made according to its revelation and that people should fear God, not the judgment of other people."[628]"To the teachers, whom Mohammed sent into the different provinces, he always gave the following injunctions: —" Deal gently with the people and be not harsh; cheer them and condemn them not. And ye will meet with many people of the Book who will question thee, what is the key to heaven? Reply to them, [the key to heaven is] 'to testify to the truth of God, and to do good work."[629] Moreover, the treaty of the Prophet of Islam with the Monks of Mount Sinai is also important in this regard. It is stated that in or about the year 628 A.D. a deputation from St. Catherine's Monastery, the world's oldest monastery situated at the base of Mount Sinai in Egypt, came to the Prophet, appealed for his protection and he granted them a charter of rights. "This is a message from Muhammad ibn Abdullah, as a covenant to those who adopt Christianity, near and far, we are with them. Verily I, the servants, the helpers, and my followers defend them because Christians are my citizens; and by God! I hold out against anything that displeases them. No compulsion is to be on them. Neither are their judges to be removed from their jobs nor their monks from their monasteries. No one is to destroy a house of their religion, to damage it, or to carry anything from it to the Muslims' houses..... No one is to force them to travel or to oblige them to fight. Muslims are to fight for them..... Their churches are to be respected. They are neither to be prevented from repairing them nor the sacredness of their covenants. No one of the nation (Muslims) is to disobey the covenant till the Last Day (end of the world)." The pledge made was timeless and worldwide and was not restricted just to St. Catherine. The rights bestowed by the charter are unchallengeable and the Prophet had avowed that Christians, every one of them, were his allies and he equated the bad treatment of Christians with infringing God's covenant. It is evident that the charter enforced no conditions on Christians in return for having the benefit of its privileges and it was sufficient that they were Christians. They were not expected to change their beliefs, they did not have to give money and they did not have any compulsions. The charter was of rights exclusive of any duties and it evidently guarded the right to property, freedom of religion and work, and security of person.[630]

The prerequisite of Khushu (Humility) and Khudu (submission) for all rituals before God, especially prayers, cannot be possible if one is not humble in his heart. And humbleness cannot be achieved with the idea of exclusivity,[631] i.e. that each sect regards itself as *the best* sect of *the best* religion. Moreover,

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[628] John L. Esposito, Natana J. Delong-BAS, *Sharia, What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford University Press, 2018, p.155.

[629] Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens* (London: Macmillan and Co. LTD., 1916), p. 16-17.

[630] John A. Morrow, *The Covenants of the Prophet Muhammad with the Christians of the World*, Angelico Press Sophia Prennis, 2013, as referred by Justice Asif Saeed Khan Khosa, Asia Bibi's Vedict, Criminal Appeal NO.39-L OF 2015 (Against the judgment dated 16.10.2014 of the Lahore High Court, Lahore passed in Crl.A.No.2509/2010 and M.R.No.614/2010)P.40-41, (conveyed from author).

[631] "[O]n average (median) only 18 percent of Muslims believe that people of other faiths may inherit heaven. In Pakistan, Egypt, Iraq, and Malaysia 9 in 10 Muslims believe that "Islam is the one true faith leading to eternal life in heaven." However, in Bosnia, Kazakhstan, Cameroon, Chad, and Mozambique, nearly 4 out of 10 Muslims responded that, "many religions can lead to eternal life in heaven." Among American Muslims ("U.S. Muslims -

the exclusive ideology is certainly against the pluralistic views of the Quran (2:62, 5:69, 10:99, 11:118, 22:17, and 10:49)[632]. This arrogance is despised by the God of the olden scriptures, and in the Quran as well. Accordingly, John Esposito may have justly stated, "All believers are called to challenge hard-line interpretations of scriptures and exclusivist theologies that breed intolerance and impede healthy religious pluralism, as well as to confront the preachers of hate, Christian, and Muslim, whose religious ideologies justify acts of terrorism."[633]

More to the point, in perpetuating their '*truth'* as the only '*right way'*; they are compromising the universal message of Islam. Likewise, Prof. Hashim Kamali argues, the Qura'nic teaching of the authority of God is that God alone can make the ultimate reckoning: when people disagree in the issue of belief or disbelief, guidance or misguidance, one must abstain from being judgmental of them, as that will be adjudicated in the afterlife. The Qur'an, therefore, articulates for the Prophet Muhammad SAW: And if they (disbelievers) dispute with you, you tell them that God knows best about what you do. Only God will judge among you on the Day of Resurrection in respect of what you differed (22:68–9). And again the Quran says, On the Day of Judgment, God will most certainly judge among those who believe, and those who became Jews, the Sabaeans, Christians, Magians and those who associate other deities with God. Surely, God watches over everything (22:17). In addition, the dignity of the individual person places a demand on one's companions to respect one's liberty of decision, liberty of speech and liberty of religion. Liberty by itself becomes the basis of different options that the person makes and the subsequent pluralism of choices that are bound to emerge as a consequence. As dignity (karāmah) is an entitlement of all human beings by the articulate assertion of the Qur'an (17:70), respect for the liberty of option, diversity, and pluralism also turn into an expansion of respect for human dignity.[634] All divine messages in their very essence are human revolutions whose objectives are the dignity and contentment of humankind.[635]

Views on Religion and Society in a Global Context"), 56 percent believe that many religions can lead to eternal life." Parvez Ahmed, "Pluralism in Islam — Between Scripture and Praxis", *Huffpost, The Blog*, Jun 30, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/parvez-ahmed/pluralism-in-islam-betwee_b_7698090.html

[632] We make no difference between any of His messengers (2:285) Surely those who believe, and those who are Jews, and the Christians, and the Sabians, whoever believes in Allah and the Last day and does good, they shall have their reward from their Lord, and there is no fear for them, nor shall they grieve.(2:62)(5:69) And if your Lord had pleased, surely all those who are in the earth would have believed, all of them; will you then force men till they become believers? (10:99) And if your Lord had so willed, He could surely have made mankind one Ummah [nation or community (following one religion only i.e. Islam)], but they will not cease to disagree (11:118) Those who believe (in the Qur'an), those who follow the Jewish (scriptures), and the Sabians, Christians, Magians, and Polytheists,- Allah will judge between them on the Day of Judgment: for Allah is witness of all things.(22:17) Say: "I have no power over any harm or profit to myself except what Allah may will. For every Ummah (a community or a nation), there is a term appointed; when their term is reached, neither can they delay it nor can they advance it an hour (or a moment). (10:49)

[633] John L. Esposito, *The Future of Islam*, Op.cit. p.166.

[634] Professor Mohammad Hashim Kamali, "Diversity and Pluralism: A Qur'anic Perspective", *Islam and Civilisational Renewal A journal devoted to contemporary issues and policy research*, *Special Issue: Islam and Pluralism*, Volume 1, Issue 1, October, 2009, ,p. 31, International Institute of Advanced Islamic Studies, http://www.icrjournal.org/icr/index.php/icr/issue/view/13/4.

[635] Al-Mithaq 1962, 109, As Referred by John O Voll, *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*, Edited by John L. Esposito and Emad El-Din Shahin, Op.Cit. p.58.

The Quran is not anything less than resounding on freedom of religion, freedom of choice, diversity, and pluralism also becomes an extension of respect for human dignity. Religious pluralism is a natural consequence of the freedom of religion in Islam: "If God had willed," as the Qur'an declares, "He would have created all mankind as one faith community – ummah – but they do not cease to differ among themselves" (11:118). And yet again: "Had thy Lord so willed, all those who are on earth would have believed. Will you then force people into believing" (10:99).[636] However, each madrasa community tries the utmost to convert other sects since all others are deemed as having diverted from *true* Islam. "For the fiqh schools manifest distinctive frameworks of thought and principles which are embraced by their followers in large numbers. This is similar to political parties, which also revolve around a set of principles, membership, and self-image of its own opinion and interpretation in preference to others."[637] Then again, Kamali further argues that Ikhtilāf (difference, disagreement), is an embedded trait of Islam. The two main kinds of ikhtilāf, i.e. ikhtilāf al-tanawwu' (a difference that implies diversity), and ikhtilāf al-taḍādd (difference on the threshold of contradiction), the former is not only acknowledged but deemed commendable (maḥmūd). The blameworthy (madhmūm) kind of ikhtilāf that infringes the spirit of unity and should be averted. Permissible ikhtilāf comprises differences of view, interpretation, and ijtihād. The Prophet's foremost Companions are recognized to have differed over a variety of matters and it was not believed to be detrimental. Some have believed this kind of difference is a source of blessing, and cite in verification the hadith that says "disagreement among my ummah is a blessing – ikhtilāf ummatī raḥmah". Examples of permissible ikhtilāf would also include disagreements that peoples and cultures demonstrate their knowledge, abilities, industries, aptitudes, and attainments.[638]
Finally, Kamali finely manages to deal with the celebrated argument of Madrasa communities for the rejection of others. He argues that "The universality of the qur'ānic message is often suppressed, however, by the orthodox exegetes who have interpreted the exclusivist verses of the text more literally than its inclusivist verses. Thus the two verses: "Verily the religion with God is Islam – inna 'l-dīn ind Allāh al-Islām" (3:19); and "Who seeks other than Islam as a religion, it will not be accepted from him – wa man yabtaghi ghayr al-Islāmdinan fa-lan yuqbal minhu" (3:85) – are cited as incontrovertible evidence that only those who follow Islam shall be saved. Islām is in one sense the exclusive name for the religion revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad. But Islām is also the primal religion of submission preached by Adam to all his posterity, who accepted God as their Lord, as in the divine invocation: alastu bi rabbikum? Qālū balā shahidnā (Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes, we do testify – 7:172). All humankind then, before time began, professed Islam in its widest sense of submission. Understood in this way, the two verses (3:19 and 385) recognise the validity of every religion that entails submission to the divine will....The essence of submission as a common denominator of all religions is featured frequently in the Qur'ān: "And We have sent to every people a messenger that they may worship God" (16:32); and (10:48): "And for every people there is a messenger. When their messenger comes, they are judged with equity and are not wronged." But instead of taking these verses as the affirmation of the validity of all religions prior to Islam, they are presented as declarations in support of Islam's finality that override and abrogate other religions. The universalist verses of the Qur'ān are thus rarely allowed

[636] Ibid, p.36.
[637] Hashim Kamali, "Diversity and Pluralism: A Qur'anic Perspective", op.cit. *http://www.icrjournal.org/icr/index.php/icr/issue/view/13/4*, p.42.
[638] Ibid, p.30-1.

to stand alone as the unencumbered word of God."[639] Indeed, it was God's decision to create not just a single nation or tribe but a world of different nations, ethnicities, tribes, and languages (30:22; 48:13).

Likewise, John Esposito aptly comments, "Religious exclusivism is not in accord with the Quran's worldview and teachings: *To everyone, we have appointed a way and a course to follow"* (5:48).[640] And, in time, unto your Sustainer you all must return: and then He will make you understand all that on which you were wont to differ (6:164). In spite of this proclamation, the judgment of God has been perceived as in the hands of conservative influential religious leaders, they have created boundaries. Accordingly, if the members of each *firqa* (sect) believes in those "prescribed" set of beliefs then God might overlook any wrongdoing but if their beliefs are "wrong" than even their good deeds are worthless as a fruitless toil. They there are severe outcomes in the hereafter if an individual drifted from their recommended religious practices, i.e. execution of ritual prayers in a particular way and a particular dress code. They petrify lay-Muslims with the fear of straying from the given straight path if they consider other interpretations of the Quran.

The prevailing trend in Pakistan is traditional tafsir: word-by-word, then verse-by-verse. It means a predominantly linguistic analysis, treating the verses in isolation, rather than in the context of the Quran's overall worldview. This approach to understanding the Quran tends to bypass consideration of the "occasions" or "circumstances of revelation," which can allow scholars to distinguish between the specific conditions that happened to be prevailing at the time of revelation, and the eternal message of the Quran in the time of its revelation, independent of contingent circumstances. Consideration of the circumstances of revelation when analyzing the Quran also allows distinction between human interpretations that have built up over time and the core vision of the last message of God. Holistic Quranic hermeneutics allows articulation of universal values so that they may be applied in ever-changing circumstances. As Fazlur Rahman put it: "The Quran … very often gives explicitly the rationales of its pronouncements, and where they are not explicit, they can certainly be explicated with the help of background material. What was required was a thorough and systematic working out of these rationales or objectives of the Quran in terms of principles or values that would form the ethics, taking due account of the necessary changes in circumstances so that the objectives of the Quran fulfilled rather than it being merely juggling with words. These objectives would embody the "public interest" (maslaha) but this public interest would thus be firmly linked with the principles of the Sharia rather than floating freely."[641]The Quran has an inward harmony and an unequivocal sense of direction.[642] The fundamental spirit of the Quran is its emphasis on socioeconomic justice and basic human social equality.[643]

By contrast to the holistic hermeneutical approach to the Quran, Pakistani traditionalists' methods interpret the Quran via selected hadiths. According to Khalid Masud, this privileging of hadiths as the arbiter of the eternal message of the Quran is a completely new approach.[644] Indeed, besides being

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[639] Hashim Kamali, "Diversity and Pluralism: A Qur'anic Perspective", op.cit. http://www.icrjournal.org/icr/index.php/icr/issue/view/13/4, p. 37.

[640] John L. Esposito, *The Future of Islam*, Op. Cit. p.176.

[641] Fazlur Rahman, "Islamic Studies and the Future of Islam", *Islamic Studies: A Tradition and Its Problems*, Edited by Malcom H. Kerr (Malibu CA: Undena Publications, 1980), p. 129.

[642] Fazlur Rahman, Islam and Modernity Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition, Op.Cit. p. 13.

[643] Ibid., p. 19.

[644] Khalid Masud, "Dr. Muhammad Shakil Auj Shaheed and Quranic Studies," *Daily Jinnah*. Islamabad 2014 (n.d.; conveyed from author).

human in origin, hadiths circulated orally for more than a century before being committed to writing. In view of that, the caliphs did not give preference to hadiths over the Quran's eternal message. As historian Joseph Schacht noted: Umar accepted a tradition from the Prophet only on the evidence of two witnesses, and Ali refused to accept traditions from the Prophet unless he had them confirmed by oath.[645]

Nevertheless, the intransigence of ultra-traditionalists has inhibited the dynamism inherent in Islamic law, preventing it from being effective in producing the social justice and stability that characterized its application in earlier historical epochs. "Contemporary fundamentalist and essentialist orientations imagine Islamic law to be highly deterministic and casuistic, but this is in sharp contrast to the epistemology and institutions of the Islamic legal tradition that supported the existence of multiple equally orthodox and authoritative legal schools of thought, all of which are valid representations of the Divine will."[646] Today's society faces new challenges. Traditionalist conservatives' exclusivist ideologies are critically weak in religious pluralism, for example; they display a lack of respect not only for other religions but within Islam as well, reflecting a radical divergence from the Quran's message. The Quran explicitly asserts that there must be "no coercion in matters of faith" (2:256) and that religious pluralism is God's will (5:48). Traditionalists' exclusivist theologies have opened ways for extremists, who instrumentalized Deobandi and Wahhabi theologies for their own sectarian agendas which undermine social cohesion.

This is despite the fact the Sharia provides fundamental rights to all human beings regardless of their affinity with Islam. Hence, according to Ismail Faruqi, the five main Objectives of Sharia are; 1. Protection of the Self, 2. The salvation of the intellect (reason), 3. Safeguarding of Religion, 4. Procreation, 5. Protection of Property. All humans are born free. No ruler may take away people's freedom, whether religious, cultural, social, economic, or political. Their entitlement to bodily safety and private property, to associate with one another, to follow their faith, to perpetuate their culture, and to articulate themselves is sacred under the Sharia. In this, the Shari'a does not differentiate between Muslim and non-Muslim. All persons are equal before it. Certainly, it provides its unlimited support to the sufferer of violations of the above freedoms; it permits such a sufferer to defy the oppressor and enforces upon all Muslims the compulsion to support the sufferer in the strife and to justify the right that has been breached: "And to whosoever rises in opposition to injustice there is to be no blame" (Qur'an 22:41). The foundation for this social equality is the equality of all humans before God, their One and Only Creator, Who said: "0 People! We have created you all of a single pair - a male and a female - and We have constituted you into tribes and nations for the purpose of identification. Nobler among you is the more righteous" (Qur'an 49:3).[647]

Nevertheless, with the prevalent dominance of conservative representation of the Quranic interpretations, the minorities are challenged and marginalized in Pakistan. Hence, they are generally, not regarded as morally equal citizens, in spite of the fact that their cultural values, dress, food, language, customs, modes of behavior and habits are the same. "During the focus group discussions on

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[645] Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 28.

[646] Khaled Abou El Fadl, *The Shari'ah*, in *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*, Edited by John L. Esposito and Emad El-Din Shahin, Op.Cit. p.12.

[647] Isma'il Raji al Faruqi, "The Islamic Critique of the Status Quo of Muslim Society", in *The Islamic Impulse*, Ed. Barbara Freyer Stowasser, Croom Helm, London & Sydney, p.234.

the question of identity, the formulaic response of the madrasa teachers and students was that we are Muslim first and then Pakistani. But then they would also hasten to add that "there is no difference between being a Muslim and being a Pakistani." However, once they were reminded that there are non-Muslims also who are Pakistani citizens, many of them said, "But they are *dhimmis*," in other words, not denying the non-Muslims' legal status as citizens but also not recognizing them as "full" citizens. In one of the focus groups where Dr. Mumtaz Ahmad was accompanied by an African Muslim studying in a Pakistani university, one madrasa teacher pointed to him and said: "He is closer to my heart than a *Pakistani non-Muslim*."[648] "[T]hey are playing a critical role in constructing a particular kind of culture in Pakistan. This culture gives no space to Muslims who are or wish to be Muslims in a way different from theirs. Propagating the *'truth'* and the *'true path'* automatically negates other people's truth, be they Muslims or non-Muslim. ……Religious intolerance generally ends in violence when taken to extremes. Ahmadi Muslims in Pakistan, as well as Shiites, are regular victims of violent attacks by Sunnis who claims a monopoly over the truth. Other religions are not spared either."[649] ICRD and SDPI interviewed 226 Madrasa students and teachers from 19 Madrasas. They described Madrasa textbooks as largely depicting non-Muslims in one of three ways: "(1) kafirs (infidels) or mushrakeen (pagans), (2) dhimmis (non-Muslims living under Islamic rule), or (3) murtids (apostates, i.e. people who have turned away from Islam). Non-Muslims were never described as citizens with the constitutionally protected rights which accompany citizenship. Tolerant references were found in both systems, often intermixed with neutral and intolerant references, leaving some room — albeit complicated — for improvement." [650]
The mainstream traditionalists profess that they have the only true interpretation of Islam. They do not have space for Shias or even for Sunni sects other than themselves. They become a problem in the modern global world, because of their weaknesses in religious pluralism and lack of respect for other sects, consequently, for other religions as well. "Culture wars are visibly ripping the country apart as groups talk past one another, each one is confident that they are the proprietors of culture and interpreters of religion while others are misrepresenting it. These cultural conflicts, often rooted in religious interpretation and belief, are manifesting today as actual wars, albeit power and ideology are deeply integrated within them."[651]

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[648]Mumtaz Ahmad, *Islamic Education in Pakistan and Bangladesh*, (The National Bureau of Asian Research 2009), *http://www.cippusa.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Islamic-Education-in-Pak-Bangladesh.pdf* , p.25.
[649] Sadaf Ahmad, *Transforming Faith,* Op.Cit. p.189
[650] Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), *Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas*, US Commission on International Religious Freedom, Op.Cit. *https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf*, p.10-11.
[651] Anita M. Weiss, Interpreting Islam, Modernity, And Women's Rights in Pakistan, Palgrave, Macmillan, NY, 2014, p.19.

Radical Elements in Madrasa Pedagogy

According to U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF), a considerable minority of Pakistan's thousands of Madrasas persist in imparting ideological teaching and inspiration to those who participate in religiously—motivated violence in Pakistan and abroad.[652] Religious passion and support from the super-powers caused the loss of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Then the military dictatorship collapsed in Pakistan. Since then, succeeding governments in Pakistan, who were engrossed in inter-political squabbling, were incapable of completely handling these Madrasas. Financially, additional funds started pouring in from private individuals internationally and from Islamic charities. Simultaneously, the CIA abandoned these institutions and assumed that now that the Soviet Union was gone so would all the teachings from Madrasa students who were educated to fight the Soviets.[653] Feeling exploited, forsaken, and deceived by America after the Soviets were ousted from Afghanistan, Pakistani madrasa leaders hold suspicion and enmity toward the United States. Thus they consider that America and the West are plotting against them and other Muslim countries and blame the United States for kindling sectarian violence and triggering most of the evils to be found in Pakistani society.[654] Furthermore, the incompetence of the government of Pakistan to make education available for all and the unstable political conditions in Afghanistan reinforce Madrasa education in the country. Gradually, Mujahidins were hired to fight for the removal of the corrupt governments in Afghanistan and in holy wars in other places, for example, Kashmir and Bosnia. Aside from Madrasas that were founded to back the Afghan fight, other sectarian Madrasas thrived during the same time in Pakistan. The foremost objective of these sectarian Madrasas was to defend and propagate their version of Islam.[655] "Foreign funding for Islamist militias also allowed them to establish a network of schools (Madrasas) on both sides of the Afghan-Pakistan border, recruiting students from the refugee camps and training them in the basics of conservative Islam. This included the emphasis on their duty to defend Muslims who are under attack—that is, the importance of undertaking jihad. This militant "jihadi" ideology was certainly pertinent during the time of Soviet occupation but would prove problematic following the defeat of the Soviets.[656] "More than 50% of the total Madrasas in APE (Ahmed Pur East)[657] were found to be involved in

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[652] Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), *Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious* Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas, US Commission on International Religious Freedom, Op.Cit. p.9.
https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf

[653] Uzma Anzar, "Islamic Education A Brief History of Madrassas With Comments on Curricula and Current Pedagogical Practices", Draft, *Op.Cit.* p.19, PDF File, p.19. *http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1121703274255/1439264-1126807073059/Islamic_Education_Paper.pdf*.

[654] Douglas Johnston, Azhar Hussain, and Rebecca Cataldi, Madrasa Enhancement and Global Security, A Model for Faith-Based Engagement, Op.Cit. p.31.

[655] Uzma Anzar, "Islamic Education A Brief History of Madrassas With Comments on Curricula and Current Pedagogical Practices", Draft, *Op.Cit.* p.19, PDF File *http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1121703274255/1439264-1126807073059/Islamic_Education_Paper.pdf*.

[656] Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalisits in Central Asia*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000, p.106. As referred by Tamara Sonn, *Islam and Democracy After the Arab Spring*, John L. Esposito, Tamara Sonn, John O. Voll, Op.Cit. p. 98.

[657] APE is a sub-division in the district of Bahawalpur which has recently seen serious conflict and violence.

sectarianism. Deobandi Madrasas were found to have the highest percentage involvement in sectarianism followed by Shia, Barelvi, and then Ahle-Hadith Madrasas."[658]Each Pakistani madrasa is owned by the exclusive denomination and . each sect of Ulama takes a radical position versus its rival and attempts to verify how divergent that group is from the traditionalist Islam. This does not suggest that there have never been instances of harmony and reciprocal respect amongst the Ulama of diverse schools of thought. There are many occurrences in which Deobandi and Barelwi Ulama learned in each other's Madrasas so as to be taught by well-thought-of teachers. Then there are instances of individual friendships and reciprocal regard for each other's scholarship amongst the Deobandi and Barelwi Ulama in the late 19th and early 20th century. These instances, regrettably, have become unusual in current times. The "fratricidal sectarianism" that (a) set as rivals the Sunnis—that is, the Deobandis, Barelwis, Ahl-e-Hadith, and all others in-between— versus the Shias, and (b) both Sunnis and Shias versus the Ahmadis is routine. Deobandis and Ahl-e-Hadith particularly have targeted the Shias for quite some time, insisting that the Shias be considered to be non-Muslims owing to their "fundamental deviations" from "mainstream" Islam. Even though the Shia-Sunni clash has been mostly home-based, it has become more passionate and fatal since the Islamic Revolution in Iran that made possible the proxy war for religio-political sway in Pakistan between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Both the Saudis and Iranians have made available religious-moral and massive financial backing to their respective sectarian allies in Pakistan. Consequently, while the sectarian extremism concerning the Deobandis and Barelwis has been mostly limited to polemics and "fatwa bazi," the Shia-Sunni sectarianism and the anti-Ahmadiya aggressions have often caused violence. Actually, in recent years, more people have died in Shia-Sunni violence in Pakistan than in any other political or religious clashes and the Deobandi Madrasas of southern Punjab and Karachi have played the foremost role in hiring the volunteers for the anti-Shia killing sprees. This sectarian extremism, to a large degree, can be credited to madrasa education that tends to inspire and instill a perception of self-righteousness in one's own group and intolerance of the "other," that, given some external process, can often cause violence and bloodshed.[659]

The sectarian domestic conflicts and some part of the Deobandis/Salafis' struggle for power are now fused with international terrorists. Minorities like Christians, Hindus, Shias, and Ahmadis are suffering even more, while their foes (Deobandis and Salafis) have become colossally strong. Because of the US's 'war on terror', they have gained international influence. Pakistani society has experienced social, political, and religious ferocity after the US-led war on terror, in the form of increased suicide terrorism, as human bombs of diverse inter-connected terrorist groups targeted security forces, political leaders, and civilians chaotically.[660]Pakistan suffered from 516 suicide attacks between 1982 and 2016, claiming 6557 lives and wounding 15477. The average number of deaths per attack is 12.7 people, i.e. much higher than the 4.6 deaths per suicide attacks in Afghanistan and 10.5 deaths per suicide in

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[658]Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), *Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas,* US Commission on International Religious Freedom, Op.Cit. p.28. *https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf*.

[659]Mumtaz Ahmad, Islamic Education in Pakistan and Bangladesh, Op.Cit. *http://www.cippusa.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Islamic-Education-in-Pak-Bangladesh.pdf* , p.12 .

[660] Khuram Iqbal, The Making of Pakistani Human Bombs, Op. Cit. p.1.

Iraq.[661]According to "Fatalities in Terrorist Violence in Pakistan 2003-2017," of the South Asia Terrorism Portal the number of casualties in terrorism-related violence is 63138.[662] From my observations, most of the sufferers and suicide bombers are from lower and lower-middle classes; non-elite members of Pakistani society.

Relations with Military Governments

The military government needed legitimacy because it came to power through an unjust military coup. Therefore, it strengthened the Ulama. Successive regimes have supported the Ulama for their own stability, by giving individual religious leaders significant positions and other benefits at the cost of mediocrity and development of Madrasas. "It is fair to say that these (reform) initiatives were driven as much by the need of the military rulers to carve out space within the political landscape as for the purpose of addressing deep-seated concerns about general or Islamic education. Equally important is that the issue of Islamic education and, by extension, the issue of interpreting Islam is fundamentally connected to Pakistani nationhood and thereby they constitute a political issue."[663]

Hence, Pakistan is suffering from the decisions of authoritarian and inept military governments who were hostile to democracy and resistant to change. Moreover, it seems as if the punitive consequence of atrocious killings and oppression of 1971 in East Pakistan has engulfed Pakistan. According to Benn Kiernan, an American academic historian, the committers of the mass murders were excused with impunity in Pakistan, whereas Bangladesh had to pay a heavy price for sovereignty. Undeniably the associated Islamic factions and the armed forces continued to overshadow Pakistani regimes in the coming decades when Islamist Madrasas in Pakistan started training terrorist recruits from the rest of world; they legitimized new attacks of political and religious slaughters.[664] "West Pakistan could not resist the separatists in the eastern wing for long. A conventional war with India ended up in the formation of Bangladesh and the surrender of 90,000 Pakistani troops to India. The majority of the militants associated with the Al-Badar, Al-Shams and razakar force fled to West Pakistan to evade the backlash but the creation of this force[665] produced the second generation of state-sponsored jihadis, which yet again failed to meet the strategic objectives set forth by their masters. No lessons were learned and the Pakistani state was preparing to cultivate a new, more organized and internationalized jihad within a few years of the 'Fall of Dhaka'."[666]

According to Husnul Amin, an Assistant Professor at International Islamic University Islamabad Pakistan, military leaders, like General Ziaul Haq and General Musharraf, needed legitimacy both internationally

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[661] "Connect to the Suicide Databas", Pakistan,Year 1974-2016, Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism. Acessed Dec 15,*http://cpostdata.uchicago.edu/search_results_new.php*

[662] "Fatalities in Terrorist Violence in Pakistan 2000-2018", *South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP)*, *http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/casualties.htm*

[663] Ali Riaz, Faithful Education Madrassahs in South Asia, Op.Cit. p. 191.

[664] Benn Kiernan, Blood And Soil, A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007), p.576.

[665] Al-Badar and Al-Shams are the Pakistan's first two militant Islamist groups, were made up of militants from the Jamat-i-Islami and its student-wing, the IJT, they were responsible, with the Pakistan military, in committing the genocide in Bamgladesh (East Pakistan) in March 1971. Nadeem F. Paracha, "Smokers' Corner: Voilent ghost", *Dawn*, March 13 2011. *https://lubpak.com/archives/42543*

[666] Khuram Iqbal, The Making of Pakistani Human Bombs, Op.Cit. p.39.

and locally; they had to demonstrate leadership in the eyes of people at the domestic level and there were demands by global powers after 9/11 to reform. Consequently, they attempted to redesign Madrasas' role in Pakistan. Even after winning key positions in the state power structure, Madrasa administrations repudiated any such plans. They anticipated reform as a threat to their autonomy even if it seemed useful for the students in finding jobs. Whatever might be considered differences between certain Madrasa administrations and the state were actually alliances made under the cover of reform plans.[667]"Attempts to encourage madrassa to teach non-religious subjects in the madrasa have largely failed because of poor understanding between the state and the religious establishment. At the same time, the state's attempts to co-opt religion have strengthened the symbolic religious and political power of certain religious actors and institutions."[668]

In addition, governments' attempts proved unwise because they didn't involve scholars and specialists; they tried to patch the national curriculum into Madrasas. Dr. Mumtaz Ahamad grieved that the whole reform plan was formulated in haste, and lacking any contribution either from the educational experts or from the madrasa Ulama. Furthermore, the entire push for Madrasa reform was because of security concerns and not education reform. It is no surprise, then, that the officials of the Ministry of Interior and intelligence agencies were more involved in striving to manage the issues of the Madrasas than those of the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of Religious Affairs.[669]

On the positive side, Madrasas are promulgating a social tradition that offers a welfare web to the deprived sections of the society and offers free education (literacy and respected cultural services) to massive numbers of kids from deprived families who cannot pay for expensive private education.

Risk of Imposing the National Curriculum in the Madrasa Curriculum

The integration of the national and Madrasa curricula would be beneficial for the society as it would lead to synchronize the cultural chasm, but they both need meticulous revision and development before incorporation. The Pakistani policymakers, by incorporating nonreligious subjects in the prevailing madrasa curriculum, are trying to produce equality between customary education and that offered by the Madrasas. The national curriculum needs reformation. The overemphasis of religion and history in science and language subjects and specifically, subjects like Urdu and Pakistan studies, inculcate the ideas of Pakistani nationalism while depreciating Hindus, and promoting war and the military.

The following table shows the difference of thinking between the Madrasa community, government schools and elite English-medium schools' communities regarding minorities in Pakistan. The survey was conducted by Tariq Rahman with the help of his two research assistants, Imran Farid, and Shahid Gondal, between December 2002 and April 2003, it was a stratified, non-random survey because an entire listing of all targeted institutions was not obtainable. Institutions were used as groups; students of

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[667] Husnul Amin, Introduction, Politics of Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan, Islamization and Enlightened Moderation, Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan Between Islamization and Enlightened Moderation, Maryam Siddiqa Lodhi, (Islamabad: Iqbal International Institute for Research and Dialogue, International Islamic University, 2016), p. ix-x.

[668]Nida Kirmani, "Interactions between Religion, the State and Civil Society in Pakistan: Some Implications for Development," Religions and Development Research Programme, University of Birmingham, Working Paper 65, 2011, p.3, PDF File, *file:///C:/Users/Scholars%20Room/Downloads/working_paper_65.pdf*

[669] Mumtaz Ahmad, Islamic Education in Pakistan and Bangladesh, Op.Cit. p.6, PDF File, *http://www.cippusa.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Islamic-Education-in-Pak-Bangladesh.pdf*.

10th grade of Urdu-medium schools, in the O-level groups both 10th and 11th were provided questionnaires, in madrasas the range is higher because some of the *salvia* grade (equivalent to 10th grade) had older boys who had joined the seminary late. In total, the study represents 243 teachers of English-medium schools, Cadet schools, public schools, and Madrasas. There were 618 students of English-medium schools, Cadet schools, public schools, and Madrasas. To have honest views, they were told not to write their names. After explaining this, the questionnaire was elucidated. The filled questionnaires were gathered at the end of the session.[670]

Percent In Favor of Equal Rights For Students						
	Madrasas		Urdu-Medium		English-Medium	
	Teachers	Students	Teachers	Students	Teachers	Students
Ahmadis	4	13	27	47	43	65.5
Hindus	15	17	37	47	61.5	78.5
Christians	18.5	18	52	56	81.5	84

"[671]

> Rahman's findings depicted a profoundly polarized society with Madrasa education and English-language private schools at the extreme ends of the spectrum. The Madrassa students were the most hostile to religious minorities.[672]

Regardless of its success or failure, there have been policy interferences from various governments and proposals from the educated members of the population to modify the Madrasas. These reforms have been varied and sometimes conflicting. In spite of espousing diverse methods, the aims of these modifications—proposed and executed—have been to produce equality between conventional education and that of the Madrasas; to incorporate nonreligious, sometimes called as "useful," subjects to the latter, in that way rendering the madrasa students more skilled in acquiring and keeping jobs.[673] However, as Qasim Zaman argues, the madrasa community considers these interferences as threatening their identity. "The Report of 1979 had attempted to devise a curriculum that would be acceptable equally to all sectarian affiliations—to the Deobandis, Barelwis, and Ahl-e-Hadith among Sunnis, as well as to the Shia; the establishment of a national board of Madrasas was also visualized, and all sects were to have equal representation on it. But if the authority of a religious scholar is based, in part at least, on his sectarian identity and on his ability to appeal to (and foster) that identity in his audience, then a "mixed" or hybrid (makhlut) curriculum can scarcely be acceptable. Further, as Ludhianawi put it, any

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[670] Tariq Rahman, Denizens of Alien Worlds, A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan, Op.Cit. Pp.163-4.

[671] Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), *Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas,* US Commission on International Religious Freedom, Op.Cit. p.27, PDF File, https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf

[672] Ibid.

[673] Ali Riaz, Faithful Education Madrassahs in South Asia, Op.Cit. p.190.

"equality" between the sects is conceivable only "in the purely worldly sphere; but no convergence is possible from the point of view of religion."[674] "One common point shared by both measures was the integrationist mindset. The Pakistani policymakers and their international supporters worked under the assumption that the problems of the Madrasas, the total number of which was anybody's guess at that time, stemmed from their autonomous existence, particularly because they existed parallel to the secular general educational system of the nation. Therefore, if these institutions were integrated into the system, the problems would be easier to address, if not eliminated altogether."[675]The Musharraf regime's efforts towards integration have been to make Madrasas part of a uniform education system. It is important to note that the authority to decide the curriculum rests with the state instead of the Ulama and the institution, as the plan states, "The Ministry of Education will develop textual and instructional material as and when required."[676] Madrasas, as regarded by the Ulama, are the channels of transmission of religious education to the succeeding generation who are expected to become religious expert dignitaries. This characteristic of Madrasa education, in the opinion of the Ulama, is under threat from the suggested reform, specifically when the Ulama's ability to determine texts and instructional resources are being controlled by the government. For political adversaries, the measure is a hegemonic scheme of the West, specifically the United States, to weaken Islam and Islamic society.[677] The transmission of traditional conservatism for the Ulama becomes threatened by the secular governments, who undermine Ulama and try to negate their authority by suggesting reform in Madrasas. As discussed earlier, the imposition of national curriculum would not fill the gap between the Madrasas and the public schools. The bureaucratic mindset of disregarding the Madrasa community strengthened Ulama's rhetoric. Ulama believe that these western-educated highly influential officials are threatening their authority by suggesting and imposing reforms. Actually, it is the Ulama's authority and right to reform the Madrasa curriculum and pedagogy. As history tells us, the Madrasa education infrastructure is not static and change with time in the past. The 19th century Deoband's style of teaching and curriculum is different from 18th-century Farangi Mahal. Therefore, the need is to instill awareness instead of an imposition.

Madrasa curriculum still belongs to the age of the 12th century; they indoctrinate students with exclusivity and sectarianism. They consider other Muslims' sects excluding themselves as ''other'' if not their enemy. Therefore, the governments' push to include national schools' subjects in the madrasa curriculum, without cleansing the ills of the national schools' curriculum, would translate the sense of "otherness" into active enmity. It would be like ***pouring petrol over the fire***.

Many Madrasas, in order to be more attractive to prospective parents, have been using the national curriculum in their elementary classes but without removing the sectarian elements. The following examples of some of the national curriculum subjects, which are incorporated in Madrasas, are evidence to support the above-stated argument. "Secular subjects are also a component of the primary and middle-level education of Deobandi madaris. English, Urdu, and mathematics are compulsory subjects from year 1 to year 8. In addition to these, social studies from year 3 to 8 and science from year 5 to 8 are also the part of modern education which the traditional institutions are imparting. For all these

[674] Qasim Zaman, The Ulama in Contemporary Islam, Custodians of Change, Op.Cit. p.79.
[675] Ali Riaz, Faithful Education Madrassahs in South Asia, Op.Cit. p.202.
[676] Ibid, p.203.
[677] Ibid, p.204.

subjects, those books are used which are approved by the Text Books Boards of the relevant province for teaching in the government primary schools. The curriculum for primary and middle, which was implemented in 1993 by Wafaq ul Madaris, has more books on modern subjects than on religion. Comparing with the same quantity of education in the state-run schools, the madaris' education is more than equal to government schools because madrasa students not only study the state-approved curriculum but also get religious education. They are required to learn, in addition to the religious texts, some socio-religious adab related to day to day life and proper observance of the religious rites."[678]

Hence in the Deobandi Madrasas, Urdu is taught via the government textbooks until the equivalent of class 8. This indicates that the ideas in the Urdu books of Pakistani nationalism, including Muslims exclusiveness, extolment of war and the military, and some perception of the modern world become part of the students' world-view. In the equivalent of class 12, Muallim ul Insha, written by an Indian alim, is taught. This book, by its precise tone of voice and choice of topics, shows itself to be a reaction, however intransigent, to modernity. Whereas the old books never suffered, as '*Islamic conduct*' was not being debated or seen as under threat, this one advocate for an *Islamic form of conduct*. Standard sentences from Muallim ul Insha are as follows: (1) The girls have been commanded to put on the veil and they have been prevented from going to the bazaar (original in Urdu) (2) You women are really thankless to your husbands (original in Urdu): (3) Tariq Bin Ziyad captured Andalusia (4) The Englishmen were always the adversaries of Islam.[679] There is also some accent on militarism, which is lacking in the medieval texts. The range of sentences was, as stated by the author, meant for those who would subsequently be 'soldiers of Islam.' Some sentences glorify triumph while others are anti-British. The sufferings of minorities and women would increase because of these teachings of misogyny and war-mongering ideas. Therefore, my point is that the integration of the national schools' curriculum with Madrasas can strengthen the sectarianism and hatred for followers of other religions. Some of the leading Madrasas like Jamia Darul Uloom Karachi have already incorporated the regular public school's curriculum in their extensive schooling program, with the objective of reinforcing the status quo.[680] The thrust to incorporate public schools' curriculum in Madrasas has intensified as a news report of a meeting convened by National Security Adviser Lt. General Nasser Khan Janjua Federal Minister for Education, Mr. Baleegh Ur Rehman and attended by prominent members of Wifaq ul Madaris and Etihad-e-Tanzeemmat-e-Madaris Pakistan, described. The Lieutenant General "discussed matters regarding curriculum, strategy, and procedures involved in the process of mainstreaming, proposed a system of examination and further up gradation of Madaris in the future. All appreciated the progress made so far and reiterated to continue to work together for the provision of better opportunities to students of Madaris."[681]

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[678] Muhammad Farooq, "Disciplining the Feminism: Girls' Madrasa Education in Pakistan", OP.Cit. p.74, PDF File, *http://qcu.edu.pk/FullTextJour/Hist/V3N205/P64-88.pdf*.

[679] Tariq Rahman, "Language, Religion and Identity in Pakistan: Language-Teaching in Pakistan Madrassas", p.206, PDF File, *file:///C:/Users/Scholars%20Room/Pictures/Language_Religion_and_Identity_in_Pakistan_Languag.pdf*.

[680] Jamal Malik, *Colonialization of Islam*, Op.Cit. p. 166.

[681] Press Information Department, Ministry of Information Broadcasting, National History and Literary Heritage Government of Pakistan, Press Release, PR No. 90 Islamabad: October 11, 2017, *http://pid.gov.pk/site/press_detail/6372,* Accessed April 24, 2018.

The danger is that this integration will increase people's exposure to traditionalist views. The appointment of the Ulama as teachers of Arabic (specifically in the NWFP and Baluchistan) when it was made obligatory in 1982, again by Zia ul Haq, also necessitated that more students in public schools came in contact with traditionalist interpretations. That is conceivably why many Pakistanis today are inclined to consider the 'other' in religious terms causing attacks on other sects and minorities as blasphemers or heretics.[682] As Rubina Saigol puts it: "The state educational system—its policies, curriculum, and syllabus—reflects a deeply religious consciousness."[683]

Hence, although integration of the national and Madrasa curricula, is fundamentally necessary to close the cultural abyss and benefit Pakistani society it must be done after a careful and insightful development and revision process.

[682] Tariq Rahman, "Language, Religion and Identity in Pakistan: Language-Teaching in Pakistan Madrassas", Op.Cit. P.205, PDF File, *file:///C:/Users/Scholars%20Room/Pictures/Language_Religion_and_Identity_in_Pakistan_Languag.pdf*.

[683] Rubina Saigol, *The Pakistan Project, A Feminist Perspective on Nation and Identity,* (New Delhi: Women Unlimited, an associate of Kali for Women, 2013), p.141.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations

Summary

- To liberate Pakistani society from radicalization, the curriculum of national schools has to be reformed to remove prejudiced materials and to incorporate pluralism. The division of curriculum according to social class that is inherent in the current curriculum design has to be eliminated.
- The government uses public subsidies to build and support the elitist system of schooling, as it does not rely on its own system of education. Thus, the government is exclusively benefitting the privileged class. It has to turn its attention towards its real duty, which is to work for the benefit of the general public.
- The need for revival and reform has to be felt by the Ulama; it has to be their own desire. The raison d'être of the Madrasa should not be limited to cultivating men and women who practice perfect dress code and ritualistic practices, but to produce intellectual geniuses and development of Islamic tradition.
- Few Ulama are proficient at handling the complexities of fiqh. The handbooks of Islamic law are from a different time and era. It is a tremendously difficult job to apply their rules and underlying principles to current issues.[684]
- A complete incorporation of the two systems of education would be unlikely in the absence of the consent and suggestions of the Ulama. Therefore, the Ulama and the educationists have to reconcile and sit together to reform the national curriculum.
- Ashraf Ali Thanvi's panacea for the challenges of a modern Muslim identity is that the Ulama are not only the repositories but also the genuine carriers of the DNA required for Muslim identity. This would limit education to faith-based teachings and parochialism, with strong doses of Ulama paternalism and orthodoxy. The challenging situation that is prevalent in most Madrasas is that they reflect Thanvi-type views, irrespective of Deobandi, Barelvi, or Ahl-i-Hadith affiliations.[685]
- Empirical research, questioning the relevance of current curricula for today's' issues, would not only present the often silenced voices of Madrasa students and Ulama but would also cut through the political rhetoric.

[684] Qasim Zaman, The Ulama in Contemporary Islam, Custodians of Change, Op.Cit. p.95.
[685] Ebrahim Moosa, *What is a Madrasa*, Op.Cit. p.223.

- This work has explored some of the critical problems that to date have weighed down the education system of Pakistan. As the result of critical analysis of available literature, statistics, and reports, this research highlights existing problems and offers solutions to improve the education system of Pakistan. This research utilized the methodological resources of Content Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Its focus has been to critically examine the elements in the Pakistani national curriculum and Madrasas and their effects on Pakistani society.
- In today's globalized world, ethnic and religious diversity is a strength, rather than a weakness. The Pakistani nation consists of heterogeneous ethnicities, cultures, languages, faiths, and various flavors of even the similar faith of around 200 million people. Therefore, the diversity of the population is the crux of Pakistani society. "Precisely because of this diversity, education plays a critical role in the fabric of Pakistani life, with the potential of bringing the society together or tearing it apart. Especially important are the roles that educators play: how and what they teach and the curricula they use deeply influences whether children appreciate and respect ethnic and religious diversity or view religious minorities negatively, as valueless and aliens in their own country. Once instilled early in life, negative attitudes often resist change and can factor into the disintegration of the social fabric of communities, discrimination, and even sectarian violence."[686]

  Accordingly, in order to avoid sectarian violence and hatred for other communities, it is important to narrow down the distances between peoples. For that, it is highly beneficial to recognize, respect, and regard diversity as an incontrovertible fact. As the Quran states "Mankind! We have created you from a male and female and made you into peoples and tribes so that you might come to know each other. The noblest of you in God's sight is the one who fears God most. God is all-knowing and All-aware." (49:13). "Plurality is not simply the acknowledgment of the mere existence of a diversity, or simply tolerating the Other, but following the injunction to 'know one another', to explore the best of all traditions through respectful co-existence, mutual recognition, active engagement, and transforming love."[687] Moreover, the example that the Prophet of Islam bequeathed similarly guides us towards managing a pluralistic society positively. Instead of dividing the Madinian community, he utilized the diverse Madinian society. This is indeed inspiring in that he did not limit goodness to people who recognized him as the Prophet and accepted Islam, but gave his blessings to all people, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. The Prophet of Islam started by mapping out the social, religious and demographic structure of Medina through a population census,[688] which revealed that of the 10,000 persons residing in Medina there were 1,500

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[686] Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), *Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious* Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas, US Commission on International Religious Freedom, Op.Cit. p.9.
https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf

[687] Ziauddin Sardar, "From Islamization to Integration of Knowledge", in *Rethinking Reform in Higher Education, From Islamization to Integration of Knowledge,* Ziauddin Sardar & Jeremy Henzell-Thomas, (Herndon, VA: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2017), p.119.

[688] Hudhaifa reported:" We were in the company of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) when he said. Count for me those who profess al-Islam. We said: Messenger of Allah, do you entertain any fear concerning us and we are (at this time) between six hundred and seven hundred (in strength). He (the Holy Prophet) remarked: You don't perceive; you may be put to some trial, He (the narrator) said: We actually suffered trial so much so that some of our men

Muslims, 4,000 Jews and 4,500 Polytheist Arabs. Muslims were only 15 percent of the total city population.[689] Professor John Esposito further has described the Prophet's strategy, "Although peace was expected—and desired—to be the normal state of affairs, the reality was that war sometimes entered the picture. Violence in the form of self-defense and defense of the community became permitted and even recommended after the migration to Medina in 622 CE when Muhammad became head of a multireligious state that was capable of defending itself. The defense was outlined in the Constitution or Pact of Medina, a collective security arrangement that included non-Muslim tribes, specifically polytheists and Jews. According to this arrangement, an attack on any member of the pact was considered an attack on all of them. All tribes were then obligated to rise in collective defense of the attacked party. Other methods of building alliances and relationships included establishing parameters for commerce and trade agreements, intermarriage between tribes, and formal treatise, such as the Treaty of al-Hudaybiyya, which brought an end to the armed conflict with both sides receiving benefits and making concessions."[690]

- Here it is important to note that the Medina document, created in 622 CE, formalized the legalization of respect for each other's ways of living and thinking, and protection under the law. Therefore, the Medina document suggests a social project not rooted in "domination" but on "participation" by all factions of the society. Surely it was not a totalitarian or unitarian political structure which did not permit diversities. The Medina Document mentions Muslims and Jews tribe by tribe (individually) to recognize the identities of the religious and ethnic collectivities presented in the society.[691] It is significant to view this document in detail (mention in the end as Appendix II) because I suggest including it in the curriculum. If the document of Medina were to be incorporated according to the grade levels in all grades in compulsory Islamiat books, it could draw students' attention to the initial foundations of the Madinian society in pluralism, participation, partnership, and opportunity.

According to the Medina document, Muslims, Jews, and Polytheists were regarded as umma (a technical term signifying a political unit (Articles 2, 25). It was not *limited* to Muslims, as the conservative notion would have it. This union is founded upon religious, cultural and legal autonomy; therefore it does not discriminate on account of race, language, religion, sect, or ethnic origins (Articles 1, 2, 16 and 25). The Medina society was heterogeneous; hence, each article reflects a common interest and a democratic settlement of differences. Every mutual interest constitutes an article, and every article regarding points of discord is left to the groups themselves. This is a rich diversity within unity, i.e. a real pluralism. These

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were constrained to offer their prayers in concealment." *Sahih Muslim,* The Book of Faith, (67)Chapter: Permissibility of concealing one's faith in the case of fear, Book 1, Hadith 275, *https://sunnah.com/muslim/1/284*

[689] Ali Bulaç, The Medina Document, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, *http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/article/book/islam-9780195116212/islam-9780195116212-chapter-19?_hi=1&_pos=1*

[690] John L. Esposito, Natana J. Delong-BAS, *Sharia, What Everyone Needs to Know*, op.cit. p.169.

[691] Ali Bulaç, The Medina Document, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, *http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/article/book/islam-9780195116212/islam-9780195116212-chapter-19?_hi=1&_pos=1*

constitutive principles can be generalized to support a pluralist project today.[692] In Pakistan, where hostile religious and ethnic communities exist, we need pluralist projects allowing the coexistence of all religious, ethnic and political groups and rooted in teamwork, choice, and involvement.

But unfortunately, humans have a tendency to limit benefaction and support to their own group only, which divides them. As Sardar explains "Human frailty leads people time and again to fall so in love with their own identity that, instead of valuing it, diversity becomes a source of fear. Other people become a threat. Preserving our own identity becomes a reason for war, for seeking to dominate and even eradicate other people.....And if we abide in God consciousness, we cannot disrespect, let alone harm, anything of God's creation, no matter how strange or bizarre it may appear."[693] Pakistan is full of natural resources. However, the most important blessing it has is its diversity. With a significant number of Hindus in Sindh, Christians in Punjab and majority of Berilvis, the second largest population of Shias (after Iran) and other small sects like the followers of Agha Khan, Bohris, and Ahmadis, it is impossible for any one sect like Salafis or Deobandis to dominate all others. Attempts to disregard diversity via forced ideology are superficial and in due course have to be subdued because hate is not in the nature of man or society. The natural push is toward love and serenity, which any society cannot achieve unless it acknowledges and respects followers of other existing religions. It is this teaching of kindness and compassion which is a significant part of most religions and all Muslim sects.

- One of the main reasons for the radicalization of Pakistani society according to the findings of the research presented in this book is the curriculum designed by Pakistan's Education Ministry to maintain the status quo and to keep the underprivileged majority from competing for the high status jobs. The disparity between education for the rich and poor is profound and getting deeper. Radicalization is also promoted by the sectarianism enforced by the Madrasas, in which each sect tends to negate other sects' beliefs and impose their own, not only on each other but on minorities as well. That is against the teachings of Islam and the constitution of Pakistan, which not only gives freedom to the followers of every religion and Islamic sect to practice their religion but also talks about the equal right of education for all Pakistanis, regardless of their social class.[694] Article 25 (1) specifically has this focus:"Equality of citizens All citizens are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law."[695] The desectarianization of Pakistan's politics will take time, possibly generations. De-escalating the sectarian rivalry is essential to this process. Debunking the myth that these conflicts are eternal and immutable is a critical first step.[696] Securing even modest gains depends on the administration's ability to carry out a more disciplined policy process. Adopting a posture that doesn't undermine Pakistani elites but still

[692] Ibid.

[693] Ziauddin Sardar, Reading the Qur'an, The Contemporary Relevance of the Sacred Text of Islam, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.243.

changes the built-in structure is a difficult challenge. We cannot keep the status quo and promote equal opportunities for all at the same time.

- Hence, the following questions are crucial in regard to the issue of the unfair and limitless power of *elites and influential religious leaders* on education in Pakistani society. Pakistani society successfully provides quality education to the affluent classes. On the other hand, the possibility of attaining a quality education is only limited to the affluent classes. Why are the Pakistani influential religious leaders absolutely silent on social justice issues? Why do they hardly ever raise their *inspiring* voices for minorities' rights? Why do they hardly ever talk about the injustice of the Military's lion's share of the budget at the cost of neglecting health and education of ordinary Pakistanis? Why do they hardly ever talk about the injustice of a rundown education system with substandard and prejudiced curriculum for deprived lower classes? Instead, many of them are running their own lucrative Islamic schools for elites of specific sects, where elitism and sectarianism, the two factors most responsible for the disastrous conditions of Pakistani society, are combined. As a result of hopelessness and lack of social mobility, Pakistani society (where the rich are getting richer and the poor are becoming poorer at the fastest pace) is facing deprivation, misery, and insecurity. One of the foremost reasons for this drastic situation is the unequal system of education and the limitation of quality education to the well-off classes.
- As mentioned in detail in the introduction, the class structure of modern Pakistan primarily originated from the colonial policies followed by the British. Today this privileged class serves its own interests with a tight control on all the gains of the country. “The poor pay 80% of total taxes collected in Pakistan while the rich contribute a miserable 5% because of special rights, privileges or concessions.”[697]
- The disparity between the governing elite and common people, who are mostly poor and powerless, has broadened during the course of history. The state has used its financial authority to uphold parallel education systems which offers quality education to those who would most likely rise to positions of authority. Just the privileged in affluence or power can come within reach of these schools. On the other hand, the public schools are treated poorly by the government in the distribution of funds, quality of teachers hired, and provision of commodities and facilities. Additionally, the government schools do not provide quality education, which implies their students will have a greater difficulty in securing decent job positions.[698]
- The current national curriculum offered across the country fosters a sense of national and sectarian divisions, especially affecting the minority populations (minority Muslim sects and those who are not Muslims). The intersection of sectarianism and elitism in the Pakistani educational system has led to negative consequences for society in general, and for education in particular. The different schooling models in Pakistan are using nationalistic and archaic interpretations of Islam, to the exclusion of minority populations and adherents of other faiths. In particular, the sectarian and parochial slants of Madrasas and newly established “Islamic” elite schools are increasing the Islamic sectarian and exclusive sentiment in the population. Therefore, any integration of national curriculum in Madrasas should happen after significant review of both the national and Madrasa curricula. The systematic Islamization of the curriculum that started in the 1980s by General Zia-ul-Haq’s regime, has increased Pakistani

[697] F.M. Shakil, Rich Pakistanis Pay Little Under Country’s Unjust Tax System, July 11, 2017, Asia Times, South Asia Pakistan, *http://www.atimes.com/article/rich-pakistanis-pay-little-countrys-unjust-tax-system/*
[698] Ibid, p.177.

people's intolerance. "According to a recent study conducted by the Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, Pakistan is the third least tolerant country in the world in terms of social acceptance of religious diversity."[699] One substantial conclusion of the research presented in this book is that the prevailing curriculum designed by Pakistan's Curriculum Wing of the Ministry of Education, is suffering from critical issues like exclusivity for certain kind of *Pak (pure)* Muslims as well as glorification of war and of military leaders. My argument is that the idea of incorporating national educational material into curriculum in Madrasas would not be worthwhile because the Madrasa curriculum is suffering from serious problems as well, which may have played an important role in the entrenchment of intolerance and radicalization in Pakistani society.

- After a failure lasting over 70 years and the adoption of over 25 educational policies, the education system has still not been able to take the nation out of the rising economic, political, and social quagmire.[700] Ever since the independence of Pakistan, education has lagged behind due to deliberate negligence by narrow-minded, feudal politicians and bureaucracy generally. Even before British colonial rule, quality education was mainly for the elites, as was the general trend of the Indian society. However, after the emergence of Pakistan, elites in authority crafted a substandard curriculum for lower class public schools to maintain the status quo. Hence, the elites' English-medium schools' curriculum is progressive and compatible with world-class quality. These schools are free from the general ailments of corruption and dilapidated conditions that are the fate of lower classes. However, political uncertainty, a culture of nepotism, and the thrust of power have perpetuated the low level of public education.
- The gap between elites and lower classes is increasing with the ever-increasing population in Pakistan. The heavy fee structure, ranging from Rs. 1000 to RS. 117000,[701]keeps lower classes away from the quality education imparted in the elite English-medium schools and elite Islamic schools. Public school students continue to lag behind elite English-medium students, as most elite English-medium students successfully take competitive exams and acquire most high official jobs. As a result of the lack of social mobility, the poor factions are getting poorer and the rich factions are becoming richer.
- Furthermore, according to Rahman and Sewani, there are some relevant education policy issues that should be highlighted. Among them is the issue of ideology – the role of Islam in curriculum, instruction, and pedagogy *in non-elite schools*. Ever since Pakistan came into being as a homeland of Indian Muslims; emotions regarding the question of the appropriate place of Islam in education have been high. Regardless of one's opinions, the question remains fundamental.[702] For instance, for the subject of Pakistan Studies for class IX-X, the whole book[703]is written as if only Muslims were students. For example,

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[699] Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), *Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas,* (Washington, DC: US Commission on International Religious Freedom, November 2011), p.17, PDF File, https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf in Pakistan: Possible Solutions, International Journal of Evaluation and Research in Education (IJERE) Vol.3, No.2, June 2014, pp. 79~84, p.79-80.

[701] https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1nZsjNAhY0Ah9-DU6FaihrBq7A1adsCaq1zbFKOS913U/htmlview?sle=true# Accessed on November 2, 2018.

[702] M. Hameed-ur-Rehman∗ & Salima Moosa Sadruddin Sewani, Critical Analysis of the Educational Policies of Pakistan, The Dailogue, ASDILO 8, 30 September 2013, Qurtaba University, Peshawar, https://global-factiva-com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/ga/default.aspx

[703] Pakistan Studies for IX-X Class, Azam Sons Karachi, April, 2016.

it starts with the Arabic inscription of Bismillah-ir- Rahmanir Rahim, and it does not provide its translation. The topic 'Water Pollution' starts as "Water is a great blessing of Almighty Allah", page 65. Moreover it disregards working women in Pakistani society despite the fact that 22.4% of the labor force is women[704]. It stresses the importance of limitations of women "within the four walls" (page 134). However, there are 66,609 female teachers in high schools in Sindh alone.[705]

- Madrasas are suffering from their archaic syllabus, with books that were written in the medieval ages as well as from their discrimination against women, who are enrolled for a reduced version of the curriculum compared with the curriculum for their male counterparts, as mentioned in chapter 4. Besides, Madrasas are also divided into elite and non-elite classes. Hence, on both religious and non-religious levels quality education is limited to the elite faction of Pakistani society, which intensifies the gulf between lower classes and elites. It also deepens the hopelessness in the hearts of the poor. The high numbers of school-age children who are not in school (24 million: 77% of out-of-school Pakistani children have never been to school and 23% dropped out[706]), and a higher rate of joblessness among graduates further worsens the situation in the lower classes. In particular, the exclusionary ideologies propagated by the Madrasas that demonize the "other," even on a sectarian level. Thus, it is recommended that the national curriculum should be humanized so that it articulates universal principles of morality and equality of citizens regardless of ethnicity and religious affinity; closing the gap between religious and secular studies, and bringing educationalists and Ulama together to reform education in Pakistan.
- Furthermore, the Pak military's unremitting intensification of excessive power and influence may have played overall a crucial part in weakening the Pakistani society. The bureaucratic-military oligarchy's approach to preserving the social order, their unity, and their autonomous state has widened the social-classes' abyss. For lower classes education and better life options are inaccessible, and as a result, their intensifying destitute conditions have made them pessimistic. They become easy targets for the extreme ideologues. Furthermore, there are various other issues regarding the national curriculum, such as the imposition of Urdu as the medium of instruction in public schools even though it is the mother tongue for only 7.57% of the population[707] and the memorization-heavy focus of education and assessments. Other than the issues of curriculum and the imposition of Urdu, the issues of insufficient facilities (as discussed in detail in chapter 2) like lack of toilets, clean drinking water, boundary walls, electricity, etc. have greatly affected the ability to educate and to prevent students from dropping out. The elite English-medium private schools have high tuition fees and newly sprouting elite Islamic schools have exclusivist policies, where elitism and sectarianism, the two most responsible factors for the radicalization in

[704]Niamatullah Khan, Director General AEPAM, et al. *Pakistan Education Statistics 2015-16*, (Islamabad: National Education Management Information System Academy of Educational Planning and Management Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training Government of Pakistan, February 2017), p.84, PDF File, *http://library.aepam.edu.pk/Books/Pakistan%20Education%20Statistics%202015-16.pdf*.

Pakistani society, are combined. At the same time, 48 million people are illiterate in Pakistan, with 24 million out-of-school children. Almost half of the government schools are in deteriorating condition and lack basic infrastructure.

- However, many Ulama and secular educationists believe that the combination of both worldly and religious education is beneficial for Pakistani society in many ways. It will not only make the Madrasa students eligible for admission to universities and increase their likelihood of getting jobs but also it will be helpful in filling the abyss between Madrasa community and secular school students. However, my point is that this incorporation should happen after the complete overhaul of the national curriculum. As shown by many pieces of evidence, it is not only the guidelines for Pakistan studies that need to be rewritten, but subjects like English and Urdu also extensively need to be cleansed of prejudicial elements. Moreover, I strongly believe in the existence of Madrasas. Their significant efforts to educate, feed, and shelter downtrodden poor children in Pakistani society, have made their existence indispensable. However, my point is that Madrasa students should be thoughtful citizens.

- Moreover, the need for studying Islamic education beyond Madrasas is important as Dr. Mumtaz Ahmad lamented, "Rapid political and social developments at regional and global levels have pushed the academic and policy-oriented study of Islamic education to a center stage. Whereas this emergent trend among the academic community is encouraging, nevertheless it seems unfortunate that the broader area of Islamic education is reduced to the Madrasa education only...In reality, Islamic education is a broader category incorporating not only Madrasa education but other forms of religious instructions as well, for example, Islamic studies at the school, college and university levels of general education. And even this should be understood in the backdrop of all its social and educational diversity."[708] He has further indicated that the problem is the gap in both fields of knowledge and the solution would not be only to develop one of them. "…the vast dichotomy obtaining in our educational scene ….the existence of two completely isolated streams of education cannot be eliminated through a one-sided change in the Madaris. Real integration can come about only in consequence of a thorough process of Islamization in our schools, colleges, and universities, synchronizing with the efforts for modernization on the part of the Madaris."[709] Therefore, the Ulama and the educationists of Pakistan should come to the same table and design an inclusive curriculum. Compulsory subjects like Urdu, General Knowledge, and Pakistan Studies need drastic modifications and subjects which are not related to religion and Pakistan, like English, should be purified from biased interpretations of Pakistan history and religious content.

- I have tried to show thru syllabus books and analysis of education policies how the superficial Islamization of education is profoundly impacting the society. These primary collections of data helped me in analyzing the sectarianism in different branches of Madrasas and the entrenched discrepancy between the quality of both religious and secular education between the elite and lower classes. Some

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[708] Mumtaz Ahmad, *A Documentary History of Islamic Education in Pakistan*, Vol-I, 1947-1970 , Ed. Mumtaz Ahmad, Husnul Amin, Iqbal International Institute for Research & Dialogue, International Islamic University Islamabad, Islamabad, 2016, p. IX.

[709] Mumtaz Ahmad, Husnul Amin, *A Documentary History of Islamic Education in Pakistan*, Op.Cit. vol.2, p.74. Interim Report on Islamization of Education by Commission on Islamization of Education Islamabad 1992 (Constituted under Shariah Act X of 1992).

prominent examples are non-elite Islamic schools like Iqra schools, elite Islamic schools, and the institutions like Al-Huda International. Moreover, this data helped me evaluate the reasons for the radicalization of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious Pakistani society, which largely does not support pluralism and is inclined towards narrow interpretations of Islam. Similarly, Madiha Afzal, a nonresidential fellow at the Brookings Institute states, "at the height of the Pakistan Taliban insurgency in 2013-2014, I interviewed high school students and teachers in Punjab, Pakistan's largest province. The majority blamed the terrorist attacks on India and the United States. This sometimes took the form of a conspiracy theory—that the United States and India had sent attackers to Pakistan or trained them because these countries were "out to get" Pakistan. More often, students told me that the Taliban was only retaliating against U.S. drone strikes or against the Pakistani government's alliance with the United States. A significant minority told me that the Pakistani Taliban was engaging in terrorism only to establish "an Islamic system" in Pakistan, implying that the goal was justified."[710] Likewise Ayshe Siddiqa while commenting on the reasons of youth radicalization rightly pointed out, "When there's no place in the country where you can engage in an open debate on religion, then the only way forward is in the form of radicalization." She further commented, regarding Islamic schools "As far as education is concerned, forget about universities and colleges, look at the religious schools in very elite neighborhoods in whole of Pakistan."[711] Unfortunately, as a result of radicalization, scholars like Auj who criticized radicalization and espoused pluralism, are forced to be silent, while traditional religious leaders with strict sect-based interpretations that undermine women and espouse sectarianism like Farhat Hashmi, are not only prospering dramatically but also have few security concerns. The plight of women living under Taliban control, for example, is a staple of Western news media. What is far less generally scrutinized in the studies in Pakistan is the voluntary acceptance by women of highly conservative interpretations of Islam, including the limitation of their rights. That is another focus of my study. Evaluation of comments by proponents and critics of conservative Islam in Pakistan lead to the conclusion that women's voluntary acceptance of subjugation is neither necessarily evil nor unique to Pakistan, but can be highly problematic in a society challenged by lack of social integration and valorization of violence.

- According to Pervez Hoodbhoy, "The greatest threat to Pakistan's future may be its abysmal education system. Pakistani schools-and not just Madrasas-are churning out fiery zealots, fueled with a passion for jihad (violent) and martyrdom. The obstacles to reform are great. For example, recent street rampages by Islamists forced Musharraf's former minister of education, Zubaida Jalal, to declare herself a fundamentalist and denounce as unacceptable school textbooks that do not include Quranic verses on jihad."[712]

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[710] Madiha Afzal, Understanding the world through our (new) textbooks, *The Express Tribune*, Opinion, October 2, 2013, *https://tribune.com.pk/story/612452/understanding-the-world-through-our-new-textbooks/*

[711] Madeeha Anwar, Pakistan's Emerging Threat: Highly Educated Youth Gravitate to Radicalization, Voice of America's Extremism Watch Desk, May 06 2017, *https://www.voanews.com/a/pakistan-emerging-threat-highly-educated-youth-gravitate-to-radicalization/3840686.html*

[712] Pervez Hoodbhoy, "Can Pakistan Work? A Country in Search of Itself." *Foreign Affairs* (2004). Nov.-Dec. 2004. p.129. Web. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/60285/pervez-hoodbhoy/can-pakistan-work-a-country-insearch-of-itself?page=show>.

- The superficial and hasty effort of pasting Quranic verses and Islamic teachings into government textbooks is not benefitting Pakistani society. The idea of 'comprehensive Islam' disregards the existing diversity of the region and its specific cultures. People residing in Karachi would be somewhat different from residents of Peshawar in their conduct of religious practices. Furthermore, "Islam is different in every country—it varies across the world. Moroccan Islam is different to Indonesian Islam which is different to Pakistani Islam. Even within the four provinces of Pakistan, there are differences in the way the religion is practiced."[713] The integration of religious knowledge is important; it is itself a vast field that perhaps needs a lifetime hard works of sincere scholars. However, the superficial and hasty pasting of the Quranic verses and Islamic teachings by the curriculum wing of Pakistan's Education Ministry is counterproductive and detrimental to growing minds. Just imagine a teenager in a classroom of a government school. S/he has to study every subject through a religious perspective which is not typically relevant to non-religion classes. This will serve to limit the abilities of the students to think objectively and learn about subjects such as science or social studies.
- On the other hand, we have Islamic schools, which are also money-spinning businesses in the name of Islam. Dr. Hashmi, like any good entrepreneur, has built a huge business empire. Now she claims authority over ethics and values being instilled in her students and deciding "*what* kind" of Muslim, they should be. Religious leaders like her are redeeming conservatism in the society. More disturbingly, they are making Pakistanis numb to the injustices around them by their emphasis on extra prayers; mythical superstitious beliefs like the evil eye and magic; and perfection of dress code and rituals. The negative impact of her influence is her promotion of a narrow and rigid view of Islam that indeed has marginalized moderation, supported the status quo, and intensified sectarianism and disparity in the society. Moreover, charismatic influential religious leaders like Hashmi are actually silent on social justice issues, which is the crux of religion, even though their alluring voices are spellbinding people. As mentioned in Chapter four, the Shari'a does not differentiate between Muslim and non-Muslim. All are equal before it. Indeed, it gives its unrestricted backing to the sufferers; it permits such a sufferer to challenge the oppressor and enforces upon all Muslims the obligation to support the sufferer in the strife and to justify the right that has been breached: "And to whosoever rises in opposition to injustice there is to be no blame."(Quran 22:41). "Believers, be strict in upholding justice and bear witness for the sake of God, even though it be against yourselves, your parents, or your kindred. Be they rich or poor, God knows better about them both. Do not, then, follow your own desires, lest you swerve from justice. If you conceal the truth or evade it, then remember that God is well aware of all that you do." (Quran, 4:135). Nevertheless, Dr. Farhat Hashmi has never raised her voice against the injustices on minorities, social injustices or the exploitation of poor in Pakistan.

  The Elite English medium schools (either privately owned by individuals or associations or funded by government subsidies) have been exploiting the constitutional fundamental right of equal opportunity for every citizen. Moreover, according to the Article 3 of the constitution of Pakistan, elimination of exploitation is a fundamental duty of the government. Therefore, with the aim of humanizing the contemptable ailment of intensifying social inequity, the government has to stop exclusively benefitting the privileged class. It should begin actively work for the benefit of the common public. An integrated and equitable system of "national education" is fundamental for nation-building. One of the reasons for

[713] Imran Khan, *Pakistan A Personal History*, Op.cit. , p. 245.

the devastated condition of education in Pakistan is the variations in the education system related to the social classes. The fact that quality education can only be '*purchased*' with money or influence is not only outrageously unjust but, it is also in conflict with the
constitution of Pakistan Article 25A. "Right to education: The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children under the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law."[714] As Tariq Rahman reports, "English-medium schooling can be bought either by the elite of wealth or that of power. And this has not happened through market forces but has been brought about by the functionaries or the institution of the state itself. Indeed, the state invested heavily in creating a parallel system of education for the elite, especially the elite which would presumably run elitist institutions in future. This leads to the conclusion that the state does not trust its own system of education and spends public funds to create and maintain the parallel, elitist system of schooling."[715] This seems the only possible explanation for continuing this inequitable education system in Pakistan. Is it impossible to form a standardized educational system of Pakistan? It isn't. The willingness to do it, however, lacking, and not out of ignorance but because equal education will threaten the status quo of the foremost power brokers of Pakistan. Pakistan cannot develop, or struggle successfully against its present crisis without a focused effort to bring uniformity to the education system of the country. Otherwise the rich will continuously become richer, and the rest will further drop down under the poverty line.[716]

- Fifteen years ago Tariq Rahman had suggested that "If the state wants to establish an equal educational system for all its citizens, it will have to dismantle these bastions of privilege. All state influenced, or state-controlled institutions or institutions administered by the welfare agencies connected with any state department or agency should be governed by the governments own educational authorities and have the same, affordable, fees for all students no matter which sector of society they belong to."[717] After studying the education policies established immediately after the country's independence in 1947, Curle in 1966 concluded that "the goal of Pakistani society was not to change, but stability. Education was not thought of as a means of promoting democracy or spreading egalitarianism, or increasing social mobility. On the contrary, its role was to maintain the status quo."[718] Unfortunately, education is still being utilized as a means to preserve the status quo. Fear of additional disintegration of the body politic as a result of a dearth of any standardization and "educational apartheid" agonizes numerous social critics.[719] Hence, the education system of Pakistan is openly stratified along social and financial lines.

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[714] Pakistan Const. art. XXV A, Right to Education, http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part2.ch1.html Accessed April 24*, 2018.*

[715]Tariq Rahman, *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan,* Op.cit. p.61,
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/271715758_Denizens_of_Alien_World_A_Study_of_Education_Inequality_and_Polarization_in_Pakistan

[716] Hussain Nadim, "How the elite schools are destroying Pakistan", *Daily Times*, OP-ED, October 2, 2013, https://dailytimes.com.pk/107423/how-the-elite-schools-are-destroying-pakistan/ Accessed April 24, 2018.

[717] Tariq Rahman, *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan,* Op.Cit. P.152.

[718]Shamaas Gul Khattak, "A Comparative Analysis of the Elite-EnglishMedium Schools, State Urdu-Medium Schools, and Dini-madaris in Pakistan", *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Comparative Studies*, Volume 1 No. 1, 2014, pp.92—107, PDF File, p.97,
http://www.ijmcs-journal.org/IJMCS_April214_SKhatta.pdf.

[719] Tahir Andrabi, Jishnu Das, Asim Ijaz Khwaja, "The Rise of Private Schooling in Pakistan: Catering to the Urban Elite or Educating the Rural Poor?", *Harvard Kennedy School ASH Center, Government Innovators Network, A*

Essentially, it is a system that says to new generations in the country that, while every child is born equal in the eyes of God, some will be regarded better than others by means of their education system. Therefore, in this obviously apartheid education system, the elite schools exclusively welcome students from prosperous families to the disadvantage or prohibition of other children from subjugated classes, regardless of how able they are. This is not a surprise or revelation in the perspective of Pakistan, where such schools were originally planned according to this specific rationale.[720]

- Generally, Pakistanis lack the sense of democratic rights and logical understanding of the issues. Hence, it is easier for some religious leaders to influence them and they also customarily stay inactive in response to the governments' unjustified measures. Hence, Pakistan is suffering from a loyal coalition of the small circle of mercenary elite governing groups and hardline conservatives. Imran Khan, now the Prime Minister of Pakistan and leader of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Party (PTI), put it this way: "The combination of ruling oligarchies and a rigid religious mindset had stopped the forward movement of rational, academic and scientific interaction with the changing world, which would have led to a dynamic Islamic culture…Democracy and freedom of speech have been stifled for decades."[721]Likewise, Akhtar Hassan Malik argues that the elitist standard of growth in Pakistan is also preserved through the elites guaranteeing that they remain in power by keeping the common people uneducated. An oligarchy will resist widespread education for the reason that educated people are more liable to demand political power, in other words, democracy. Yet if the country becomes more "democratic," further educated people may become more politically active and, therefore, more liable to vote for the redistribution of revenue and for the elimination of power from the oligarchy.[722]
- The national curriculum has been a center of criticism for a long time and has been held responsible for generating prejudice and rigidity. Yet efforts at reform have frequently been met by confrontation especially, when changes have been recommended to subjects like, Islamic studies, Pakistan Studies, and Urdu. It is uncertain whether or not there is an organized lobby for confrontation, but every few years politicians have changed their course in the face of negative propaganda. For example, in April 2013, the Punjab government retreated when its new Urdu textbook was accused of being anti-Islam and anti-Pakistan and withdrew the textbook[723] However, reform needs to be systemic rather than piecemeal.

Forum for Innovation in the Public Sector, Op.Cit. P.22, PDF File, *https://www.innovations.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/2608043.pdf*.

[720] Akhtar Hassan Malik, A comparative study of elite English-medium schools, public schools, and Islamic madaris in contemporary Pakistan, The Use of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory to Understand "Inequalities in Educational and Occupational Opportunities" op.cit. p.87. *https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/34798/1/Malik_Akhtar_H_201211_EdD_thesis.pdf*

[723] Mehnaz Aziz David E. Bloom Salal Humair Emmanuel Jimenez Larry Rosenberg Zeba Sathar, Education System Reform in Pakistan: Why, When, and How? *IZA Policy Paper No. 76,* Jan. 2014, Bonn, Germany, p.18, *http://ftp.iza.org/pp76.pdf* "The book is said to have been withdrawn". Pervaiz Hoodbhoy, Banning a Text Book--

- Pakistan needs to discard rote learning and move toward an education system that kindles students' aptitudes to think, challenge, and be creative. For instance in studying science, students need to be encouraged to use logic and math to real-world phenomena. One way to counter rote learning is to link examination to curriculum instead of precise textbooks. The other is to improve the quality of teachers. Additionally, curriculum should be developed to teach financial and health literacy and entrepreneurship. This will require trained teachers.[724]
- The Ministry of Education's designed *Islamic* curriculum justifies defense policies and glorifies the military of Pakistan in school textbooks; this promotes the tendency towards war-mongering and makes children passionate for battle's "glory". One of the solutions according to Rubina Saigol is to decentralize and liberate education from the imposition of emphasized security doctrine from the federal government. "To counter the ideologies packaged and disseminated by a national security state obsessed with India, war, and enmity, it is imperative to devolve education. This would wean knowledge away from serving the ends of the security state and simultaneously recognize the diversity and pluralism inherent in society. One caveat is that while framing the curriculum the provinces must adhere to the fundamental rights granted in the constitution so that women's rights and minority rights may be upheld. Secondly, it is important to base the curriculum objectives on pedagogical needs to serve the ends of learning, rather than on the political or ideological imperatives of the ruling elite."[725] Then again, the latest decentralization of education to the provinces, due to the 18th Amendment, provides another perspective to the picture: textbooks will now be appraised at the provincial level, rather than going to the center. Many worry this might undermine 'national ideology'. Ex-federal education minister Zubaida Jalal, for example, has been cited as stating: "The plan to hand the education ministry to the provinces is a threat to the federation."[726] It is an uphill battle to fight this lack of respect for decentralization and, besides, schools still have to follow the state policy. "…textbook writers in Sindh and Baluchistan followed the same curriculum outlines laid down by the federal government, as writers for other provinces were required to follow."[727]
- Furthermore, according to the International Crisis Group, "The public education system needs to foster a tolerant citizenry; capable of competing in the labor market and supportive of democratic norms within the country and peace with the outside world.....The eighteenth constitutional amendment devolved legislative and executive authority over education to the provinces to make it more responsive to local needs. Given the scale of those needs, donors and the private sector must be key partners, but provincial governments need to become the principal drivers of reform. They should reverse decades of neglect by giving government-run schools adequate materials and basic facilities such as boundary walls

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The Punjab Government Panics, *The Express Tribune,* April 5 2013, https://tribune.com.pk/story/531509/banning-a-textbook-the-punjab-government-panics/

[724]Mehnaz Aziz David E. Bloom Salal Humair Emmanuel Jimenez Larry Rosenberg Zeba Sathar, Education System Reform in Pakistan: Why, When, and How? *IZA Policy Paper*, Op.Cit. p.18, http://ftp.iza.org/pp76.pdf

[725] Rubina Saigol, "Education and devolution", *The Express Tribune*, April 21st, 2011, https://tribune.com.pk/story/153102/education-and-devolution/

[726] Zahra Sabri, "A textbook case: Do school books glorify war and martyrdom?" Op.Cit., https://herald.dawn.com/news/1152839

[727] Ibid, https://herald.dawn.com/news/1152839

and toilets. They should also tackle teacher absenteeism and curb nepotism and corruption in appointments, postings, and transfers."[728]

- **Examples of Ongoing Efforts for the Eradication of Radicalization**

  The lack of initiatives from the government and the air of hopelessness have resulted in a few local efforts to improve their extremely poor living conditions and radicalistic syllabus in their local school. Anita Weiss mentioned one village dwellers' efforts of development as helping themselves to improve their deprived conditions. "I also learned about residents of Soomro, a village in the interior of Sindh province, who became so fed up with the violent extremism in their midst that they encircled their village with a wall, put in their own sanitation and water system, and revised the local school's curriculum to promote peace and cooperative dialogue. I have heard accounts of local people in Sialkot, Punjab, who happened to be nearby when a mob started to attack a Christian couple and intervened to save the couple from harm. They said *bas* (stop) to the violence, and vowed to prevent such attacks against minorities in the future."[729]

  The Bacha Khan Trust was established as an NGO in Pakistan and Afghanistan in 2003 to foster peace, democracy, human rights, and progression. It created the Bacha Khan Educational Foundation in March 2007 and founded two schools in Peshawar and Charsadda. There are currently 14 schools, registering about 5,000 students (with equivalent statistics of girls and boys) all over Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and in distant areas of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas.[730] One of their best efforts is an updated curriculum, which serves their regional needs. "Aside from general subjects, the Bacha Khan curriculum has a deliberate focus on peace, cultural identity, individual liberties, and collective well-being. It emphasizes critical and analytical thinking, problem-solving, and social skills. Community engagement is encouraged. The curriculum also includes culture-based trade skills such as tailoring, woodwork, and leatherwork. The anticipated economic rewards from these skills have contributed to reducing the dropout rate at the Bacha Khan schools to less than 5 percent, compared with more than 50 percent at other schools and 72 percent in girls' primary schools."[731]

- While considering such efforts as a sign of hope, Anita Weiss mentioned the drastic deficiency of government schools. "The goal is for this "alternative narrative of education" to carry over into constructing alternatives for society in tune with cultural values in the region, ultimately bringing peace, social stability, and economic prosperity. This model of education based on critical thinking and cultural integrity is sorely lacking in the government schools largely attended by poor children."[732] Another

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[728] Education Reform in Pakistan, Internationall Crisis Group, Report N°257/Asia , 23 June 2014, *https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/pakistan/education-reform-pakistan*

[729] Anita Weiss, "Can Civil Society Tame Violent Extremism in Pakistan?", Op.Cit. p.147, *https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/docview/1789503374?pq-origsite=summon&accountid=11091*

[730] Ibid, p.148.

[731] Ibid, p.148.

[732] Anita Weiss, "Can Civil Society Tame Violent Extremism in Pakistan?" *Current History*; Philadelphia Vol. 115, Iss. 780, (Apr 2016): 144-149. p.148 *https://search-proquest-*

positive effort is Karen Armstrong's Charter of Compassion works in Pakistan's schools. "The Compassionate School Network (CSN) is a research-based approach to test the experimental ideas which use creative approaches to cause peace building in education. They have been found to have better teacher effectiveness, higher student achievement, and improved school environment. Using it as a collaborative resource for academic, social, and emotional learning in schools; it has worked as one of the most well-designed, evidence-based learning programs.....Over the years, CfC [Charter of Compassion] has trained 5,000 teachers in nine behavior-based skills of compassion through both training educators and creating a supplementary curriculum Their program also includes conflict management, and peacebuilding hence these teachings have trickled down to over 35,000 students in the city. The donor for this project is the United States Institute of Peace (USIP). Recently CfC has collaborated with DAI [Development Alternatives, Inc.] and is building 40 schools that will have 450 teachers in 6 underprivileged communities across Karachi.... 200 schools are part of this School Network program." [733]

- A small success is the "Role of minorities in the creation of Pakistan" for History grade 8 and "Role of minorities in Pakistan" for Pakistan Studies grade10 has not only become part of national curriculum 2006-2007 but also of textbooks as well. On the request of Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board Lahore, Chairman Pakistan Minorities Teachers‟ Association Prof. Anjum James Paul produced material on "Role of minorities in the creation of Pakistan" for History grade 8."[734]
- The few positive changes are trivial and insignificant compared to the profound revolutionary transformations that are required in most subjects. They cannot overcome Pakistan's educational problems unless the government takes genuine action to improve the curriculum and eradicate prejudiced contents in the national curriculum. Besides, these numbers become insignificant when compare with the overall non-elite public schools (145,829 primary schools, out of these 125,573 (86%) are in the public sector, whereas, 20,256 (14%) are in the private sector. The primary stage of education in Pakistan enrolls 18.751 million learners/students out of which 11.461 million (61%) are in the public sector and 7.290 million (39%) are in the private sector[735]). Hence, the responsibility of government-led reform programs becomes crucial for the change in the national curriculum for that will help to promote long-term peace and compassion in Pakistani society.
- When I asked Professor Weiss why, after decades of efforts by distinguished scholars to state the critical need for reform in the public school curriculum, the bureaucracy of Pakistan does not want to change the syllabus she responded by e-mail that, "It's a complicated issue with a great deal of political

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com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/docview/1789503374?pq-origsite=summon&accountid=11091 *www.currenthistory.com*.

[733] Charter of Compassion Pakistan, *http://charterforcompassion.org.pk/projects.php* *http://charterforcompassion.org.pk/events.php*

[734] Prof. Anjum James Paul, Efforts of Pakistani Minorities Teachers' Association for Moderate Pakistan, p. 8, PDF File, *file:///C:/Users/Scholars%20Room/Pictures/EFFORTS%20OF%20PAKISTAN%20MINORITIES%20TEACHERS%E2%80%99%20ASSOCIATION%20FOR%20MODERATE%20PAKISTAN.pdf* Accessed Sept 8, 2017.

[735] Pakistan Educaon Statistics 2015-16, National Education Management Information System, Academy of Educational Planning and Management Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training Government of Pakistan February 2017, *http://library.aepam.edu.pk/Books/Pakistan%20Education%20Statistics%202015-16.pdf*

implications."[736] In answering the question of why the SDPI's designed curriculum for the public schools has not been implemented Dr. Abid Qaiyum Suleri, Ex-officio Member / Executive Director SDPI, replied via email that "SDPI gave some suggestions on curriculum on the basis of its flagship work, "subtle subversions". Part of them were accepted and some of the hate material was removed from textbooks. SDPI also prepared curriculum and textbooks of ethics. Those were taught in a private school Mazmoon e Shauq and couple of other schools. However, we could not get a direct breakthrough at public schools. They are supposed to teach the curriculum approved by their curriculum committee."[737]

- Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies: PIPS have done substantial research and held many workshops. However, regrettably, these have only been good enough for maintaining "data" but have not affected the policies of the Curriculum Wing of the Ministry of Education. PIPS have conducted a series of 15 "peace talks" in 2008-09 attended by scholars, academicians, and subject specialists. PIPS executed a host of activities linked to this progressive model traversing three levels: [1] Taking its basic input from empirical studies and surveys aimed at understanding the issue of violent extremism and radicalization, [2] it underwent processes of knowledge creation and knowledge sharing to evolve certain strategies which could be3] implemented at the final stage of de-radicalization and/or countering radicalization.[738]

- **Suggestions to Improve the Current Curriculum and Teaching**
- One of the simple and speedy but for the time being improvements could be that instead of the Ministry of Education Curriculum Wing's designed "Pakistan Studies" that each province has in its national curriculum, "The History and Culture of Pakistan" by Nigel Kelly (a British Historian), could be approved for Pakistan Studies subject as it is an unbiased analytical study of history of Pakistan. As stated above, all elite schools including Islamic schools and Military schools including Cadet Schools have this book in their curriculum. Besides, Pakistan Studies is a subject that needs to be written by Pakistanis, as it is not only history, but also our ethical values, geography, Pakistan's Foreign Polices; its relations with the western world, with Arabs, with its neighbors, and more importantly its richness of pluralism; the multiple religions, ethnicities, and languages are all crucial to be discussed. But it would resolve the issue for only Pakistan Studies, while other subjects, particularly Urdu, have to be viewed in depth and thus new books, free from all prejudiced notions, needed to be rewritten as well.
- According to Pervez Hoodbhoy, a Pakistani nuclear physicist and activist, one solution for the science textbooks in the national curriculum is that rather than pointlessly trying out native authors, the government should buy rights to modify, translate, or economically republish those books that have a high-quality international record. It is illogical to believe that science and math are Pakistan-specific—water is H2O universally, and two plus two make four even in Timbuktu. Pakistan's universities and colleges already utilize books by foreign authors at the BSc, MSc, MPhil, and Ph.D. levels. So why not extend that to school books and make our science curriculum equal to that in other countries? Local authors and their representatives want fat profits, even though they try to argue for national or provincial pride. These vested concerns have effectively foiled reform and will keep doing so. It is

[736] Anita Weiss, "Re:" Received by Author, 15th November, 2017.
[737] Abid Suleri, "Re: Question." Received by Author, 13th December, 2017.
[738] *Reconstruction of the National Narratives and Counter-Violent Extremism Model for Pakistan*, Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), Background, P.5, *http://pakpips.com/downloads/PIPS-National-Narrative-CVE-Model.pdf*.

outrageous that only a handful of Sindh's children are fortunate in being able to utilize the books of British "O" and "A" level schools.[739]

- Hence, it is an imperative need of reformation that the National textbook and curricula criteria should be set to actively support tolerance and respect toward all people, and establish suitable review and implementation mechanisms to assure that such values are being maintained in government (public) schools. There should be swift movement for the execution of improved recommendations for textbooks utilized in public schools and to substitute existing public school textbooks with ones that rule out messages of intolerance, hatred, or violence against any group of persons based on religious or other differences.[740]
- Vocational training should be a compulsory part of both the public schools' and Madrasa curriculum.
- Another important recommendation is to reform pedagogy. According to Dr. Douglas M. Johnston (ICRD President Emeritus), foreign aid could be used to build schools with teacher training centers on campuses to support and execute less exclusionary concepts. Pedagogy reform that supports critical thinking would certainly prove advantageous.[741]
- Teachers should be given authority and encouraged to teach creatively. Teachers should encourage students to do research and have the authority to modify curriculum according to the needs of his/her group of students followed by given guidelines. They should have enough resources for promoting research in the classroom like computers, smart phones, and free access to internet. Instead of rote learning, the examination system should be based on multiple choice questions derived from analysis of the contents so o that students have to focus on critically thinking about the subject matter. Consequently, the teachers will become active and interested in teaching by building a bond with their students as their own intellects will grow each day. Teaching is two-way learning if it is based on research; it will be fun to know more and discover new ideas and techniques to teach.
- A "Substitute Teacher Network" could solve the issue of ghost teachers. This will not only give jobs to the trained unemployed teachers but will also help in resolving the issue of teachers' absence. Moreover, the permanent teachers would become more diligent in actually being in the classroom if their daily salary would be deducted to pay the substitute teachers.
- Moreover, good teachers should be honored and rewarded by the head of the states. It is my humble request that the government should honor Prof. Shakil Auj and issue a medal in his name every year to the best teachers in the country.
- Ten years back, National Education Policy 2009 lamented that the necessity for a greater level of allocation derives from the reality that both the quantity and the quality of provision have to be improved at the same time. More to the point, Pakistan is allocating resources for education at a lower level than other developing countries. Hence, "We cannot spend 2.7 per cent of GDP on education and

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[739] Pervez Hoodbhoy, "Burn these books, please!", *Dawn,* Op.Cit. https://www.dawn.com/news/1225815/burn-these-books-please

[740] Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), *Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious* Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas, US Commission on International Religious Freedom, Op.Cit. p.10.
https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Pakistan-ConnectingTheDots-Email(3).pdf

[741] Dr. Douglas M. Johnston, "Madrasa Reform in Pakistan: Challenges and Lesson Learned", Op.Cit. p.18, *https://icrd.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Madrasa-Reform-in-Pakistan-Final-Transcript.pdf*

expect to become a vibrant knowledge economy". For that reason, the Ministry of Education recommended, "the Governments shall commit to allocating 7% of GDP to education by 2015."[742] However, nothing has changed yet.

Non-formal Education and Adult Literacy

- Pakistan needs a multi action plan for out of school children and uneducated adults.
- It is important to promote the existing non formal education system in the country. "Non-Formal Basic Education Schools (NFBES) were first established in 1996 under the Prime Minister's Literacy commission in Pakistan. The concept of (NFBE) schools is based on the philosophy of involving parents, community and the non-governmental organizations in the promotion of education through non-formal means. NBFE schools have been established all over the country, including urban slums, small towns and remote villages. Some of the objectives of the NFBE schools include the universalization of primary education, to increase inclusion of the community and NGOs, to provide employment opportunities to educated persons and empowerment of rural women. The NFBEs are based on the 'Home school 'model. The government provides funds to the community through intermediary nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)."[743]
- The Literacy & Non Formal Basic Education (NFBE) Department of Punjab has build up over 13,000 Non Formal Basic Education Schools (NFBEs) which are educating about 400,000 students in the regions where a primary school in one kilometer radius or the areas where child labor is widespread. These schools operate with community involvement; a teacher is employed for Rs5,000 per month and s/he makes available a room or porch at her residence where the students be seated on a mat. Even though these schools are an achievement in getting out-of-school children in the distant areas into mainstream education, there are some issues which prevent these schools from competing with formal schools. The foremost challenge is for the teacher to educate 30 to 35 students of nursery to grade five in one room, which influences the quality of education and individual attention that each grade receives, in contrast to the formal schools which have one teacher and classroom for every grade. Typically the schools are located in badly aerated rooms or porches or underneath trees in the open, so that children must endure harsh weather conditions. The students sit on mats because there is no furniture for teacher and students. Although the teacher manages for water, electricity, space for students and other amenities but he/she is not paid for providing these amenities.[744] Hence, if the government could supply more amenities, increase salary, and provide additional teaching help in the form of assistant teachers, it could bring great results with little expenditure.
- The non-formal education system is a promising project, which could be highly successful in promoting universal primary education because it is economical and adaptable with the needs and requirements of

[742] ""Governments" include different tiers i.e. federal, provincial/ area as well as district governments and the figure of 7% consists of allocation by all these governments." National Education Policy 2009, *Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan*, Revised August 01, 2009, P. 20, PDF File, http://itacec.org/document/2015/7/National_Education_Policy_2009.pdf Accessed December31,2018.

[743] Nabi Bux Jumani, Fazal-ur-Rahman, Khadija Bibi, Potential of Non Formal Basic Education in Promoting Women Education in Pakistan, *International Journal of Instruction,* January 2011, Vol.4, No.1, p.22. PDF file, https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED522938.pdf

[744] Aurangzeb Malik, Non-formal school teachers demand resolution of issues, *Dawn,* August 04, 2018, https://www.dawn.com/news/1424789/non-formal-schoolteachers-demand-resolution-of-issues

its patrons. NFE derived from the idea of single room, single teacher, multiple grades and children at different ages. NFE comprises literacy course, apprenticeships, on-the-job training plans and extension services in health, agriculture, women's interests, computer literacy, and community.[745]

- One suggestion would use educated members of the community. These people might be incentivized by giving them tax relaxation and other incentives for teaching in the weekends or in their leisure time privately in their homes to their servants and other persons in the vicinity. For students, the volunteer works should be a compulsory part of passing exams. They could be motivated by the incentives of getting higher grades by teaching basic techniques of reading and writing to poor Pakistanis.

- "In 1974, Allama Iqbal Open University was established as part of adult literacy program. The mode of instruction was distance learning which opened up the door of education for thousands of Pakistanis including women who could not leave their homes because of cultural and financial barriers. The students had the facility to enroll according to their own schedule with minimal requirements. This has been a very promising program which is not just running till date but is also extending its programs in the fields of professional, scientific and technical education. It is attempting to reach out to the remote areas of Pakistan and is also attempting to integrate modern information into its curriculum and pedagogy."[746] With today's advanced and economical technologies and easy access to internet, the government should support progress by AIOU's adult literacy program. It has the potential to disseminate education universally and economically, and it could further reinforce the uphill struggle against illiteracy.

- Pakistan can and must without delay provide universal primary education and second chance literacy and additional fundamental education to youth and adults, comprising vocational and skills training. Some of the more practical and sober ways may include distance education, by means of the postal service, radio, TV, mobile phone, social media, YouTube, and 'old fashioned' books. The issue is no longer technology; the challenge is to systematize the teaching-learning method and select pertinent subject matter. We don't require individuals with year-long teaching degrees for teaching basic techniques of reading, writing, and basic math; we require keen parents, community members, and older students, such as secondary school graduates. Another good approach is exemplified by the Sabaq Foundation in Islamabad, which is utilizing the online program of the American Khan Academic in California, to provide free secondary school courses, typically presented at tuition centers, and in the classroom. They have at least 11,000 short lectures in science subjects and programs which millions of students watch in Urdu and English. Sabaq has more than one and half million new students joining every year in Pakistan. It can improve quality for government and private school students and decrease parents' already sky-reaching costs for school fees and tuition. However, although these unconventional

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[745] Nabi Bux Jumani, Fazal-ur-Rahman, Khadija Bibi, Potential of Non Formal Basic Education in Promoting Women Education in Pakistan, *International Journal of Instruction,* January 2011, Vol.4, No.1, p.18 & 21. PDF file, *https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED522938.pdf*

[746] Naila Shahid, How non-formal education developed as an important sector of education in Pakistan? *The Nation,* March 05, 2017, *https://nation.com.pk/05-Mar-2017/how-non-formal-education-developed-as-an-important-sector-of-education-in-pakistan*

programs are helpful, they can never substitute for personal contact with a teacher. Social contact is important in learning, to avoid boredom and misunderstanding. Teachers and good textbooks are crucial for deeper understanding and the learning of concepts.

- **Children with Disabilities**
- "It is estimated that of the 25 million out of school children, almost 1.4m are disabled. These figures are in line with global statistics where percentage of out of school children with disabilities is higher than those with no disability."[747] According to Afaf Manzoor, Abdul Hameed, and Tanzila Nabeel roughly 96% of children with disabilities are out of school and are unreachable for any educational services in Pakistan. A survey was organized to spot the reasons of being out of school in order to recommend required actions for inclusion. The researchers selected 433 unreachable children with disabilities from districts Sheikhupura and Kasur to record the voices of out of school children and their families. Children and their parents provided data via structured interviews. Both qualitative and quantitative analyses were executed to answer the questions. The study discovered that lack of school willingness, admission policy, poverty, child physical conditions, distance from home to school, and overprotection of children with disabilities are the major causes (in rank order) for being out of school. It was also discovered that while existing special schools in both districts were offering their services via curriculum modification, adaptive assessment techniques, teacher trainings, student's free time and leisure activities, there still was no room to seat all the unreached children at Tehsil (sub-district) level because of restricted budget, staff, physical infrastructure and transportation service. The research suggested that unless the customary schools are not made more inclusive, the crisis would continue . The average distance from home to neighboring regular school is around 1 km, but the average distance from home to special schools for disabled children is 12 km. It illustrates that on average, a special child has travel over 12 times longer distance so as to get to a special school. This distance penalty could be the main restriction to education.[748]
- It is difficult for the provincial governments in getting 15 to 20 percent (about 24 million) out of school children into schools. One hypothesis is that these are particularly marginalized children who have low level disabilities. For inclusive education, such children need to be identified and teachers must be trained to deal with their needs. Pakistan's inclusive education programs are yet in the pilot stage, but provincial governments hope to level them up in the near future. Although inclusive education has seized the interest of authorities, there remains some opposition from teachers who are unconvinced by the need to have children with disabilities mainstreamed in their classes. In approximately 20 percent of government schools in the Punjab, the most developed province in the country, teachers manage children from more than one grade. Given their overpowering tasks, these teachers' unwillingness is

[747]Maryam Sarim, Disability — dividing lines, The Express Tribune, April 15, 2018, https://tribune.com.pk/story/1685683/6-disability-dividing-lines/

[748] Afaf Manzoor, Abdul Hameed, Tanzila Nabeel, Voices of Out of School Children with Disabilities in Pakistan, *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs*; Aug2016 Supplement, Vol. 16, p1099-1103, http://web.b.ebscohost.com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=c0b6fbf3-3f35-417b-8600-e74d0b6b986f%40sessionmgr120&bdata=JkF1dGhUeXBlPWlwLHVpZCZzaXRlPWVob3N0LWxpdmUmc2NvcGU9c2l0ZQ%3d%3d#anchor=bib1up&AN=117169388&db=eue

understandable. It will thus be necessary to develop material that will help teachers better manage various classes. Disabilities can be particularly tough for poor, rural children in Pakistan, but the stabilizing power of education could alter that. The first step is to get them into schools.[749]

- **Recommendations for the Development of Madrasa Curriculum**

The shield of Ulama's defensive wall has kept education, in terms of the dichotomy between religious and secular education, at the 16th-century.[750] The need for revival and reform has to be felt by the Ulama; it has to be their own desire. As Maryam Lodhi stated, "... no matter how much resources and energies are utilized, a complete integration of the two systems of education would not be possible without achieving the consent and suggestions of the Ulama."[751] According to Taqi Usmani, if the change had occurred in the era of Muslim rulers, modern philosophy and science could have been added in a manner that would not have affected its spirit or damaged its objectives.[752] However, because of the atrocities of the British and the West in more recent times, the Ulama became single-minded defenders of tradition. Therefore, the efforts to reconcile tradition with current thought and reform Madrasas' medieval curriculum unavoidably encounter intense resistance. Conservative Ulama praise the resilience of Islamic tradition while many contemporary commentators are now considering that this inertia may be symptomatic of structural issues within Muslim societies that must first be addressed.[753]

- Reform should focus more on the incorporation of social sciences instead of the natural sciences. Not only are social sciences significant for a better insight into religion, but they will also be more willingly acknowledged by the leaders of Madrasas since the teaching of human rights and religious tolerance seems to be more relevant to the students of religious studies.[754] "… goals in reforming the Madrasas have been to (1) expand the curriculums to include the physical and social sciences, with a particular emphasis on religious tolerance and human rights (especially women's rights) and (2) transform the

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[749] Faisal Bari, The Stabilizing Power of School for Children with Disabilities in Pakistan, Open Society Foundations, January 04, 2017, *https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/stabilizing-power-school-children-disabilities-pakistan*

[750] The dichotomization between deen (religious life) and duniya (the material life) was not true in past centuries. According to Metcalf, "(In Sixteenth century) a boy who chose to follow a religious career would not only learn Persian, the language of the court and of letters, but would also study Arabic. Academic disciplines studied through the medium of Arabic were divided into two broad categories: manqulat, the "transcribed" or "copied" subjects of Qur'an and the hadis or sayings of the Prophet; and ma'qulat, the rational sciences, or those which were the product of man's own thought and study. These latter subjects ranged from Arabic grammar and rhetoric to logic, mathematics, philosophy, and theology, to—above all—books of legal commentaries and jurisprudence. As a student completed each book he would receive a certificate from his teacher testifying to his accomplishment. His knowledge was judged by the number of books he had read and the scholar under whom he studied." Mujeeb, Indian Muslims, pp.204-205, as referred by Barbra Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in The British India: Deoband 1860-1900*, Op.Cit. P. 19.

[751] Maryam Siddiqa Lodhi, Politics of Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan, Islamization and Enlightened Moderation, Op.Cit. p.125.

[752] Taqi Usmani, *Hamara Ta'leemi Nizam*, (Our Educational System), (Karachi: Maktaba-i-Darul Uloom, 1998), p.75.

[753] Saleem H. Ali, Islam and Education, Conflict and Conformity in Pakistan's Madrassahs, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.153.

[754] Misbahur Rehman, "Reforms in Pakistani Madrasa~~s~~Madrasas: Voices from Within", in *Reforms in Islamic Education*, *International Perspective*, Ed. Charlene Tan, Op.Cit. p.111.

pedagogy to develop critical thinking skills among the students. The latter is important because these students currently have no ability to question or challenge the overtures of extremists who recruit them to their cause."[755]

- According to Ebrahim Moosa, "The contemporary Madrasa, for example, retains only a fraction of the classical humanistic tradition of Islamic learning. In fact, many Madrasa authorities now explicitly say that the raison d'être of the Madrasa is not to produce intellectual giants but to cultivate men and women of pious predisposition. Most Madrasa graduates are deeply enmeshed in pious religious endeavors such as preaching, evangelical work, publication, promoting mosque activities, media activity, and teaching. The majority of graduates are everyday practitioners, not armchair philosophers or reflective citizens. Any chance of reinvigorating a robust discursive tradition that meshes with the rhythms of modern life, for now, remains moot."[756] In line with Qasim Zaman, even those who persisted in avowing the usefulness of prevailing methods of education conceded at least that the Madrasas of contemporary times no longer generated figures similar to the academic giants of medieval Islam.[757]"Sayyid Abul-Hasan Ali Nadwi, an influential religious scholar of contemporary India, suggests, for instance, that the decline of the Madrasa reflected and have exacerbated a more pervasive intellectual and cultural decadence of Muslim societies everywhere. The authoritative writings of the earlier masters were gradually eliminated from among the list of texts which were commonly studied, to be replaced by the glosses and abridgments of uncreative pedants. According to Nadwi, an obscure, allusive, convoluted style, characterized by "an extreme economy in the use of paper", took the place of the clear and readily intelligible (*˜am fahm*) style of writing characteristic of the "ancients."[758] Hence, there are Ulama who acknowledge the deficiency in Madrasa curriculum and who support reforms in Madrasas; implementing reform with the support of such Ulama would improve the reform process and make it more acceptable. Importantly, reforms should be led by the Ulama, while the bureaucracy should play a minimum role in implementing reforms. This would ease the process of reform, as the Ulama have the power to forbid those Madrasas that refuse reforms or have any connections with extremists and sectarian bodies. The Ulama would also give validity to government action against such Madrasas[759]as religious leaders involved in the quest for peace thwart to those who would influence religion to benefit their own political aims.[760]
- Financial enticements should not be regarded as the primary device for reforms. They should only be used as a means to support the reforms when required.

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[755] Dr. Douglas M. Johnston, "Madrasa Reform in Pakistan: Challenges and Lesson Learned", Op.Cit. p.1, https://icrd.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Madrasa-Reform-in-Pakistan-Final-Transcript.pdf

[756]Ebrahim Moosa, *What is a Madrasa*, Op.Cit. p.140.

[757] Muhaamd Qasim Zaman, "Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reform: The Madrasa in British India and Pakistan", Op.Cit. p.302.

[758] Ibid, p.302.

[759] Misbahur Rehman, "Reforms in Pakistani Madrasas: Voices from Within", in *Reforms in Islamic Education, International Perspective,* Ed. Charlene Tan, Op.Cit. p.112.

[760] Douglas Johnston, Azhar Hussain, and Rebecca Cataldi, Madrasa Enhancement and Global Security, A Model for Faith-Based Engagement,Op.Cit. p.29.

- Combined events such as seminars, workshops, study tours, etc. between students of regular schools and Madrasas should be arranged to support consideration of youth learning in Madrasas and modern schools.[761]
- If the five wafaq boards come to an agreement that they would remove the divisive content from their Madrasa curriculum and would acknowledge each other as Muslims seeking Allah's mercy and blessings, they could create an exchange program for teachers in which they could invite their best teachers to deliver a friendly lecture in each other Madrasas, especially on occasions like Eid and Ramdhan. They could capitalize on some of the typical specialties of each sect. Shias have expertise in oration. They are best in eloquent speeches. Berilvis are best in Na'at (poetry for the love of the Prophet of Islam) and they also include other sects in their Urs (celebrations on the mausoleums on the death anniversary of Sufi saints). Usually their mausoleums are open to anyone regardless of religion or sect. However, at the time of Urs, they widely open their generosity. Therefore, many people of other sects and religions, like Hindus are welcomed, enjoy free food and join the Berilvis in these colorful festivals. Ahl-e-Hadith have the treasure of Hadiths, they have the ability to provide relevant Hadith in any situation. Deobandis have the expertise in laws, they can resolve complicated fiqhi issues. This would eliminate the refutation of each other in Madrasa teachers' pedagogy. The key is frequent interactions and meetings in a friendly atmosphere, this can reduce the friction and would bring them close to each other. Besides, this is not a new idea, Dr. Mumtaz Ahamad has mentioned, "cases of harmony and mutual respect among the ulama of different schools of thought. There are many instances in which Deobandi and Barelwi ulama would study in each other's madrasas in order to be taught by reputable teachers in their rival schools. Then there are cases of personal friendships and mutual respect for each other's scholarship among the Deobandi and Barelwi ulama in the late 19th and early 20th century."[762] Perhaps the wafaq boards could even be persuaded to prevent their related sects from delivering hateful or hostile speeches and inciting Muslims to fight other sects in the name of "saving Islam".
- If a process can be found to motivate association among Madrasa teachers (with their better understanding of the nuances of Islamic teachings) and public schools' teachers (with their intrinsically closer association to religious minorities), it might be conceivable to develop each group's overall understanding to the common benefit.[763]
- The efforts of ICRD for peace in decreasing the sectarian hatred and distances are significant. "For the past seven years, in partnership with local Pakistani educators and religious leaders, ICRD has been working with Pakistani madrassa (private Islamic school) leaders to enhance madrassa education through teacher-training programs that promote educational and pedagogical enhancement, with an emphasis on critical thinking, religious tolerance, human rights, and conflict resolution skills. All programs are grounded in Islamic principles and honor the significant educational and social achievements accomplished by madrassas and Islamic societies throughout history. This program has

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[761] Misbahur Rehman, "Reforms in Pakistani Madrasas: Voices from Within", in *Reforms in Islamic Education, International Perspective,* Ed. Charlene Tan, Op.Cit. p.112.

[762] Mumtaz Ahmad, Islamic Education in Pakistan and Bangladesh, Op.Cit. P.12, http://www.cippusa.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Islamic-Education-in-Pak-Bangladesh.pdf

[763] Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), *Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious* Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas, US Commission on International Religious Freedom, Op.Cit. p.18.

grown to involve over 2700 madrassa leaders from more than 1600 madrassas throughout Pakistan to date."[764] They are undertaking substantial efforts, though; their outcome is yet to come. However, they are like symptomatic treatments, which could be regarded as a first step. Though, the real cure is the eradication of 'disease', which is to upgrade the curriculum. The integration of the holistic hermeneutics allows articulation of universal principles of morality and equality of citizens regardless of ethnicity and religious affinity. It would also give teachers the chance to speak, using their hearts and minds, instead of only 'delivering' the stated texts, as in the terms of Allama Sbili Nu'mani, at present, they are "*slaves of prescribed texts".*[765] More to the point, positive attempts like ICRD usually only benefit the elite Ulama and their students, whereas the real sufferers (and the majority of potential extremists) remain untouched. The following BBC report shows how poor students in madrasas become easy targets for extremists. "Such madrassas are prime recruiting ground for Taliban groomers. Interviews with detained children reveal they are picked up from the streets as well and from low-income neighborhoods."[766] Moreover, further reasons for the recruitment of young people to camps where they are trained to become suicide bombers are, "Other factors that draw individuals to the camps include: curiosity, proximity of the camps to civilian residential communities, unemployment or under-employment, poor academic options, boredom and lack of entertainment"[767]

- PIPS institute carried out rigorous empirical research in 2008-9 to understand trends and level of extremism and radicalism in Pakistani society; this included a comprehensive national-level public survey; a survey of educated Pakistani youths from universities and colleges; a survey of Madrassa students and teachers across Pakistan; a survey of literatures; and a survey of media persons and practitioners. The outcomes of this entire empirical research were more than 40 research papers and studies providing an empirical and contextual understanding of different aspects of radicalization, religious extremism and concomitant phenomena in Pakistan including factors, trends, level and impact of these phenomena, and local, context-bound imperatives to counter them.[768] However, nothing much has changed.

While this survey is interesting, it did not ask questions that I think are highly relevant. Therefore, my suggestion is that a survey should be aimed at inciting awareness of the gaps in Madrasa curriculum by asking questions like: Why is Madrasa education not universal for both sexes (as women studies for only 4-6 years, while men studies for 10-16 years)? How does this policy fit with the Quranic values of equality in in the eyes of God? Is there any Quranic verse or Hadith that justify this disparity? Why is the

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[764] Azhar Hussain (ICRD) and Ahmad Salim with Arif Naveed (SDPI), *Connecting the Dots: Education and Religious* Discrimination in Pakistan, A Study of Public Schools and Madrassas, US Commission on International Religious Freedom, Op.Cit. p.5.

[765] Ebrahim Moosa, *What is a Madrasa*, Op.Cit. p. 221.

[766] Dawood Azami, How the Taliban groom child suicide bombers, *BBC World Service*, December 15 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27250144

[767] S.H.Tajik, "Insight into a Suicide Bomber Training Camp in Waziristan", General Camp Characteristics, *Combating Terrorism Center at West Point*, March 2010, Volume 3, Issue 3. https://ctc.usma.edu/insight-into-a-suicide-bomber-training-camp-in-waziristan/

[768] *Reconstruction of the National Narratives and Counter-Violent Extremism Model for Pakistan*, Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), Background, P.5, http://pakpips.com/downloads/PIPS-National-Narrative-CVE-Model.pdf.

Arabic language not being taught, given that it is spoken today in the Arab world? How relevant are the contents of the fiqh problems mentioned in the fiqh books to today's world? For reforming Madrasa curriculum Uzma Anzar suggests some questions that are important to consider: "The questions that Islamic scholars and teachers must be pushed to ask are, currently what types of religious ideologies and beliefs are being promoted by the Islamic curriculum in various Madrasas? Are they compatible with the prevailing political, religious, human rights, and women's right realities that surround the Muslim world today? How through Islamic education systems in combination with scientific interventions, Muslim nations can advance in the 21st century? Could the Madrasas be brought back to the point where they lead the debate on Ijtihad – independent reasoning and pave the way for advancement in Muslim societies? The answers to these questions should come from the Muslim leaders and scholars themselves. At present, it would be wise for the international donors and educators to facilitate this dialogue. Only if Islamic leaders and scholars are able to articulate the answers to the above questions and are willing to adapt and change, the world could witness another Islamic renaissance."[769] Lodhi indicated that when reforms are studied, their implications are overlooked and the major stakeholders are ignored[770] Sardar suggested a 'structured survey of a representative population.[771] Zaman lamented that few Ulama are competent to deal with the niceties of fiqh. The manuals of Islamic law are from a different day and age; to apply their rules and underlying principles to modern problems is an extremely difficult task.[772] According to Ebrahim Moosa, "Pluralizing knowledge and constructively exposing Muslim religious thought to newer methods of inquiry such as critical readings of history, sociology, theological anthropology, philology, and hermeneutics using a variety of intellectual resources and tools remains an unaccomplished task."[773]

The Ulama are the real actors; therefore, a survey questionnaire would be helpful in understanding and then erasing the mistrust in between the Madrasa community and the governments' incentive for reform. Hence, Masooda Bano stated that "Interviews with leading 'Ulama across the three countries reveal the concern that the state-initiated reform programs were aimed at secularization and commercialization of Madrasa education rather than an improvement of the Madrasas' ability to train more learned 'Ulama."[774] The concerns of the Ulama could be managed if both sides come to the table and talk at equal levels. The Government of Pakistan shows its sincerity and seriousness by involving the intellects and educational experts of Pakistani society, rather than the officials of the Ministry of Interior and intelligence agencies or bureaucracies. Another aspect is that if data exists to say that students and Ulama indicated the vast gap in the relevancy of the curriculum for current issues, it would be easier for the Ulama to realize the need. This information, would facilitate the lower class Madrasa students and Ulama, who do not have any say in influencing Islamic discourse and would also cut through the political

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[769] Uzma Anzar, "Islamic Education A Brief History of Madrassas With Comments on Curricula and Current Pedagogical Practices", Draft, *Op.Cit.* p.21, PDF File *http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1121703274255/1439264-1126807073059/Islamic_Education_Paper.pdf*

[770]Maryam Siddiqa Lodhi, Politics of Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan, Islamization and Enlightened Moderation, Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan Between Islamization and Enlightened Moderation, Op.Cit. p.35.

[771] Ziauddin Sardar, Rethinking Reform in Higher Education from Islamization to Integration of Knowledge, Ziauddin Sardar and Jeremy Henzell-Thmas, Op.Cit. p.136.

[772] Qasim Zaman, The Ulama in Contemporary Islam, Custodians of Change, Op.Cit. p.95.

[773] Ebrahim Moosa, What is a Madrasa, Op.Cit. p.51.

[774] Massoda Bano, *The Rational Believer, Choices and Decisions in the Madrasas of Pakistan*, op.Cit. p.54. She interviewed the Ulama in Pakistan, Bangladesh and India.

rhetoric. Although, certainly not the first effort,[775] empirical, field research in Madrasas asking students' and Ulama's' interests and views regarding the relevance of their curriculum, could make the need of development their own choice. The real need is to instill the awareness of the idea of reform.

The possibility of Ulama acknowledging the need for development in the Madrasa curriculum might become real, if their own community would raise the point of reformation. According to Alexander Evans, "the best debate on Madrasa reform will come from within."[776] Therefore, if we could develop this kind of survey within Madrasa community, it would present the often silenced voices of Madrasa students and Ulama and could help in instilling the need for upgrading their curriculum.

Need to Develop Both National and Madrasa Curriculum

There are gaps in both in both national and madrasa curricula. Dr. Mumtaz Ahmad has urged that the solution will not be only to develop one of them: "…the vast dichotomy obtaining in our educational scene ….the existence of two completely isolated streams of education cannot be eliminated through a one-sided change in the Madaris. Real integration can come about only in consequence of a thorough process of Islamization in our schools, colleges, and universities, synchronizing with the efforts for modernization on the part of the Madaris."[777]Therefore, the Ulama and the educationists of Pakistan should come to the same table and respectfully acknowledge their differences; they should work together to compose the curriculum, because compulsory subjects like Urdu, General Knowledge, and Pakistan Studies need drastic modifications and subjects that are not related to religion and Pakistan, like English, should be purified from Pakistani history and religious contents.

According to Taqi Usmani in pre-colonial South Asia, the curriculum of a typical Madrasa was extensive, after the accomplishment of Madrasa education, the students could embrace any of the professions pertinent to medicines and Science, Logic and Philosophy or exegesis of Hadith and Law.[778] As per Sardar, "the best education in all societies, the real measure of excellence, is the degree to which it addresses the totality of human faculties. It is nothing more or less than the full realization of human potential…… Aspects of excellence have been realized in all societies and at all times, and no culture or civilization has ever had a monopoly, even if some have attained relative eminence in certain fields. That is surely why the Quran advises us to 'vie with one another in doing good works' (2:148, 5:48) and to realize that we have been made into nations and tribes 'so that we may come to know one another'

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[775] Mumtaz Ahmad did the survey, but his focus was to eradicate the myth that Madrasas cultivate terrorists. As he mentioned, "We also explore the Ulama's views on various issues, including the role of women in society, democracy, pluralism, and religious minorities. The report is based primarily on field work in Pakistan involving interviews with Madrasa Ulama and government officials; focus group discussions; government reports and publications of the Madrasas; and a questionnaire-based survey of a sample of 88 Madrasa teachers and graduate students from the three main Islamic schools of doctrinal orientation in Pakistan—the Deobandis, Barelwis, and Ahl-e-Hadith. *http://www.cippusa.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Islamic-Education-in-Pak-Bangladesh.pdf, p.3.*

[776] Alexander Evans, "Understanding Madrasahs, How Threatening are They?" Op.Cit. *https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/india/2006-01-01/understanding-Madrasahs*

[777] Mumtaz Ahmad, Husnul Amin, *A Documentary History of Islamic Education in Pakistan*, Op.Cit. vol.2, p.74. Interim Report on Islamization of Education by Commission on Islamization of Education Islamabad 1992 (Constituted under Shariah Act X of 1992).

[778] Maryam Lodhi, Politics of Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan, Islamization and Enlightened Moderation, Op.Cit. p.73.

(49:13). The attainment of excellence is a cumulative process which depends on the sharing of knowledge and skills, and on the respect for higher knowledge wherever it may be found."[779]

What is required mainly is a considerate, evidence-based method for the Madrasas. The policymakers should inspire modernization but evade pressing for secularization, which would be considered as an attack on Muslim education. They should aspire to motivate discussion and competition for excellence among Madrasas at the same time as granting them their freedom. Trying to change Madrasas via pressure and power is not likely to bring positive results. Reform of the Madrasa system will eventually be spurred by competition from inside-- and the more competition, the better.[780]

ICRD's educational development effort is thriving because the Madrasa leaders regard it*, as their own efforts.* "ICRD has been working with a network of Pakistani religious actors from across all major Islamic sects to develop a locally-informed response to the pervasive sectarian prejudice that has divided Pakistani society and fueled numerous extremist movements. Working in concern with indigenous partners, ICRD brought together prominent religious stakeholders from the Deobandi, Ahl-e-Hadith (Salafi), Barelvi, and Shi'a communities, who collaboratively designed a Narrative of Sectarian Reconciliation that identifies and refutes the most prevalent and divisive beliefs about other sects."[781]

The success that ICRD has experienced, is credited to three realities. First, ICRD has structured and handled the project in such a way that the Madrasa leaders consider it as their reform struggle and not something external. Therefore, they have meaningful control over the transformation process. Second, the project appealed to their own legacy, not only of their formerly honored institutions but likewise the early period of their faith when many decisive innovations in the arts and sciences—including religious tolerance— transpired under Islam. Third, the project substantiated all recommended modifications within Islamic doctrines, so they can feel they are becoming worthier Muslims in the practice.[782]

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[779] Ziauddin Sardar, Rethinking Reform in Higher Education, From Islamization to Integration of Knowledge, Op.Cit. p. 218.

[780] Alexander Evans, "Understanding Madrasahs, How Threatening are They?", *Foreign Affairs*, the Council on Foreign Relations, *https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/india/2006-01-01/understanding-Madrasahs*

[781] "Programs, Local Counter-Narratives to Sectarian Violence in Pakistan", International Center for Religion Diplomacy, *http://icrd.org/pakistan/*

[782] Dr. Douglas M. Johnston, "Madrasa Reform in Pakistan: Challenges and Lesson Learned", Op.Cit. p.2, https://icrd.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Madrasa-Reform-in-Pakistan-Final-Transcript.pdf

- **Final Words**

  The government reform package asked the Madrasas to introduce public schools' subjects along with their traditional curriculum, rather than requesting any qualitative change in the core Islamic sciences. The supposition is that these subjects would make the Madrasa students acquainted with more modern, liberal attitudes and behavior.[783]However, the real problem is that the students are not prepared to relate with other communities in a culturally diverse country and a globally interdependent world.[784] The need is to develop a pluralistic approach and appreciation for the richness of diversity bestowed in Pakistan. Respect for humanity regardless of religious affinity needs to be emphasized. We, as humans and Muslims, have the responsibility to work against the assertions of "otherness" that inevitably result in hatred and killings. We must promote interaction and inclusivity rather than denouncing the other.
- There are many possibilities and it is an issue that requires the educational planners and policy makers to make decisions and implement changes as rapidly as possible. It means starting a political and social debate, establishing serious commissions and working groups, undertaking concrete planning and calculations, and so on, to get the entire country focused on education and boost all in the new Pakistan.[785]

[783] Mumtaz Ahmad, Islamic Education in Bangladesh and Pakistan Trends in Tertiary Institutions, Mumtaz Ahmad and Matthew, Op. Cit., p.5

[784] Christopher Candland, "Pakistan's Recent Experience in Reforming Islamic Education," in *Education Reform in Pakistan: Building for the Future*, ed. Robert M. Hathaway (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars). As referred by Ibid, p.5.

[785] Alte Hatland, Reaching every child with education, *The Nation*, Nov. 15, 2018, *https://nation.com.pk/15-Nov-2018/reaching-every-child-with-education*

Appendix I

Illustration of the Teachings and Resulting Difficulties Faced by a Moderate Scholar of Islam: Professor Shakil Auj, as I remember him

I think it is important to write about the experiences of Prof. Shakil Auj to illustrate my point of view. Prof. Shakil Auj was a well-liked, popular, and respected Dean of the faculty of Islamic Studies of the University of Karachi, who was assassinated in Gulshan-e-Iqbal on 18th September 2014. I am not there but I am sure that the faculty must still feel deserted without his brilliant and loving personality. How was he different from other teachers? What made him different was not only his intellectual achievements and principled personality, but his undifferentiated love for all. He did not discriminate against Shias or students associated with other sects or religions. He realized that there are virtuous people in every sect and religion. Hence, instead of imposing on others "the only True sect of Islam" he used to say, "we need to propagate goodness." He gave his undivided attention to the students. All his students were dear and important to him.

His moderate and pluralist stance and his unbiased principles were not appreciated by the ultra-conservatives. They were extremely critical of his position and threatened him. Gradually high officials and media persons started appreciating his hard work and resilience. Yet at the same time, the number of enemies grew as well. Some of them became "friends". One example is Maulana Mufti Muneeb-ur-Rahman, chairman of the Ruet-e-Hilal Committee (moon sighting committe), President of the Tanzeem-ul-Madaris and President Darul-Uloom Naeemia in Karachi, who refused to lead Professor Shakil Auj's funeral prayer. He didn't even attend the funeral ceremony, although mutual friends requested that he come and he was in Karachi. Nor did he visit the family for condolences, despite the fact that Maulana Mufti Muneeb-ur-Rahman was supposedly a close friend with whom Prof. Auj had done many media programs. "Dr Shakil Auj was a man who enjoyed and encouraged difference of opinion. Every Eidul Azha, he used to carry out the qurbaani ritual together with Mufti Muneebur Rehman, who currently heads the Ruet-i-Hilal Committee. The two were friends, but at the same time, had differing viewpoints on various subjects when it came to religion. Dr Auj would bring up so many points of disagreement in a single conversation that Mufti Munib once joked with his eldest son, saying, "Tum apnay abbu jaisay na banna!" ("Please don't become like your father!").[786] Maulana Mufti Muneeb-ur-Rahman also refused to lead the funeral prayer of Abdul Sattar Edhi, a beloved Pakistani philanthropist, social activist, ascetic, and humanitarian. It was a state funeral, but Maulana Mufti Muneeb-ur-Rahman preferred meeting his family in Abbottabad.

After Prof. Auj's assassination, there were many columns in newspapers and magazines regarding the incident. Most of them have two themes. One is the condemnation of his assassination, and another is their need to distance themselves from the viewpoints that led to his being killed. Why does the mainstream, including renowned journalists, take this stance? Doesn't this indicate a silent support for extremists in Pakistani society? Could supporting ultraconservatives who reject any alternative views be a strategy for survival?

[786] Haya Fatima Iqbal, Remembering Dr Shakeel Auj: The man who wasn't afraid, *Dawn*, Sept.18, 2015, https://www.dawn.com/news/1207553

Prof. Shakil Auj was assassinated, silenced at the age of 54 by a single 9mm bullet, and Al Qaida claimed credit that was "in the name of God". Muhammad Shakil Auj, known for his liberal views, had been labeled a 'blasphemer' in a text message campaign. He was shot dead while driving to an Iranian Cultural Center where he had been invited as a guest of honor. This was one of many incidents in which ultra-conservative Pakistani "conformists" defeated modernists/rationalists; they have made no room for individuals (even some with great expertise in studying the Quran) who disagree with their basic approach towards the interpretation of the Quran.

On the surface, the conflict between the ultra-conservatives and their opponents appears to be a matter of conflicting hermeneutics (methods of interpretation). The hard-line conservatives oppose objective analysis of scripture. By "objectivity" I mean a holistic approach to the Quran, i.e., seeing it through its own perspective, rather than either viewing it solely through the lens of Hadith or the longstanding traditions. The holistic approach to studying the Quran seeks to derive the Book's overall values and objectives, which have informed the objectives (maqasid) of Shari`a, identified by the fuqaha since the time of al-Ghazali (d.1111). This holistic view of the Quran, informed by the circumstances of revelation (so that individual verses can be understood in historical context and overall values can be distinguished from their application in specific circumstances), has revealed its objectives, including promoting/safeguarding people's rights to life, religion, family, property, and dignity/reason, in diverse and ever-changing circumstances. By contrast, conservatives interpret the Quran verse by verse, in light of traditions that have often been informed by customs prevailing in the region of their origin for ages. in many cases, these customs can be dated to before the advent of Islam. For instance, Purdah, interpreted as face veiling and segregation of women, is an age-old local tradition that is still found in the interior of the Sindh province, including among Hindu women. This traditional practice can be supported by the literal interpretation of a few well-known verses of the Quran, particularly when read without reference to the circumstances of revelation. In effect, therefore, their interpretations reflect and support existing traditions, rather than challenging them. Not coincidentally, this approach helps conservatives gain the backing of those sectors of society who benefit from the status quo.

However, a holistic interpretation of the Quran that focuses on its overall objectives and suggests their application to current issue may challenge prevailing customs and norms. It may indicate, for example, that while segregation of women promoted their well-being in 1st century Arabia, today it may marginalize them, undermining their well-being and thus that of society at large. Such an interpretation would then lead to resistance among traditionalists who are satisfied with the segregation of women. Yet even when scholars demonstrate rationally that their views are consistent with Quranic norms, rather than in conflict them, and that indeed their interpretations are in conflict only with local custom and traditional interpretations, their views are rejected among conservatives.

According to Tamara Sonn, Pakistan deflected attention from its defeat after the 1971 civil war by demonizing India and focusing on the alleged superiority of Islam over Hinduism. These ideas were incorporated into the "national syllabus" that programmed future generations with enmity towards India. It resulted in today's conservative and prejudiced mainstream, which justifies "purification" from

the alleged influence of “Hinduism” and the “West”. The result is that instead of alleged manipulation by India or the West, Pakistanis are now subjected to manipulation by their own hard-line conservatives.[787] At present, consequently, scholars who question prevailing traditionalist interpretations are particularly at risk. They are institutionally marginalized, which often led to relative impoverishment. Prof. Shakil Auj’s only property was his 2001 Toyota Platz; his four sons studied in a local non-elite private school. Whereas, in two decades Hashmi has built a huge empire of Al-Huda International from scratch; her wealth and influence are greater than the generations-old feudal landlords in Pakistan. The ultra-conservatives' influence on the country has accelerated radicalization in the society. Pakistani society has become even more intolerant of minor differences in the last two decades. According to author Sam Robinson "Seemingly trivial distinctions of hand positions in prayer and the exact wording of the call to prayer have become highly divisive markers of difference. These differences between Sunnis are no longer trivial. They have become a pretext for animosity and violence."[788]

The opposition Auj faced in his entire career reflects the fact that Pakistani society is radicalized. Scholars (whether from the East or West) proclaiming conformist ideas are welcomed by Pakistanis around the globe, but the systematic study of Islamic sources, based on objective reasoning and critical analysis, is not welcomed in Pakistan and is, in fact, viewed with suspicion, as if Islam itself is under attack. Islam is a religion that both respects and reflects the divinely created nature. If the claims made in the Quran are true, as Muslims claim to believe, they should have nothing to fear from objective, critical analysis. A truly faithful approach would indicate confidence that even the most rigorous analysis would result in recognition of core truths, for reason is a part of human nature, and humans are commanded to use it by the Qur’an itself.

لا تبديل لخلق الله ۚ ذلك الدين القيم ولكن أكثر الناس لا يعلمون ۚ فأقم وجهك للدين حنيفا فطرت الله التي فطر الناس عليها

Devote yourself single-mindedly to the Religion. And follow the pure human nature as made by God, that nature in which He has created mankind. There is no altering the creation of God. (30:30)

Therefore scholars should have no fear of examining its sources objectively. Prof. Shakil Auj used to say that those who study Islam holistically will develop interpretations different from the predominant authorities, which are mired in tradition, and it is undermining that authority which they fear, rather than undermining the authority of the Quran. Accordingly, Prof. Shakil Auj believed that scholarly research should never be limited by any humanly created boundary. Furthermore, there should be no fear that scholarly research will replace one ultra-conservative with another. Auj stated that a researcher is always open to criticism. He used to say in his lectures, "He is not a researcher who could not go against his own previous findings”. In fact, a researcher cannot be stagnant. Rather s/he is always looking for new perspectives. This can only happen if s/he has the independence to work with an objective approach.

[787] Tamara Sonn, *Islam and Democracy After the Arab Spring,* John L. Esposito, Tamara Sonn, John O. Voll, (Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.89-90.

[788] Sam Robinson, Rousing Religion, Islamic Preaching on the Pakistan-Afghan Border, Op.cit. p. 64.

Traditionally in Pakistan, the precedents set by an accepted madhhab (school of jurisprudential reasoning) are considered a domain beyond objective research, but Prof. Auj rejected that approach. He believed in examining religious claims objectively and holistically based on all available sources, including hadith and diverse tafsirs. My slain Professor, Muhammad Shakil Auj, recommended that instead of interpreting the Quran via traditions, the dominant traditional mainstreams' views should be scrutinized through an informed Quranic perspective. The problem is the Quran's eternal message becomes limited due to the restricted approach of certain hadiths and traditional interpretations. According to Khalid Masud, this privileging of hadiths as the arbiter of the eternal message of the Quran is an innovation in Islamic intellectual tradition.[789] Scrutinizing the heritage of hadith through a holistic Quranic lens would result in more pluralistic and rationally coherent perspectives than are on display today in Pakistan. Auj was convinced, based on his engagement with the Quran itself, that religion teaches love and respect for humanity, rather than dividing humanity into "us" and "them." God is universal, as is the message delivered by His Prophets. Prof. Auj used to say that we do not need to convince people of one set of beliefs; rather we need to promote and promulgate goodness, as the Quran says, "Vie with one another in good works." (5:48). [790] "To the teachers, Mohammed sent into the different provinces, he always gave the following injunctions: —" Deal gently with the people and be not harsh; cheer them and condemn them not. And ye will meet with many people of the Book who will question thee, what is the key to heaven? Reply to them, [the key to heaven is] 'to testify to the truth of God, and to do good work."[791] Furthermore, as stated by Prof. Shakil Auj, the people of the book are considered as Momin according to the following verse:

> But those among them, who are well-grounded in knowledge, and the believers,
> believe in what hath been revealed to thee and what was revealed before thee: And
> (especially) those who establish regular prayer and practice regular charity and
> believe in Allah and in the Last Day: To them shall We soon give a great reward.
> (Quran 4:162)

In this verse, some Jews and Christians are particularized with the attributes of being "well-grounded in knowledge" and "believers". They believe in the Quran because they were formerly true believers in their own faith. Their former state means that indeed, in every religion, there are virtuous and sincere people who are the believers (momin) in their faith. Therefore, treating all believers of other faiths equally as Kafir (infidel) is itself in conflict with the Quran. Every good person of any religion is indeed a good person and every bad person of any sect or ideology is a bad person. This is a vital point and important to understand in our current times.[792]

If the idea of promoting the goodness of conduct—instead of a list of dogmas, the perfection of rituals, and dress code—could be understood in Pakistani society, it would bring a great benefit to the society. We being humans and Muslims have the responsibility to work against the assertions of "otherness"

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[789] Khalid Masud, "Dr. Muhammad Shakil Auj Shaheed aur Muta'lat-e-Quran"(Dr. Muhammad Shakil Auj Shaheed and Quranic Studies)," *Daily Jinnah*. Islamabad 2014 (n.d.; conveyed from author).

[790] For each [community] We have appointed from you a law [-giver]) and a way. Had God willed, He could have made you one community. But that He might try you by that which He has given you [He has made you as you are]. So vie with one another in good works" (5:48) For each [religious following] is a direction toward which it faces. So race to [all that is] good. Wherever you may be, Allah will bring you forth [for judgement] all togeth
er. Indeed, Allah is over all things competent. (2:148)

[791] Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens* (London: Macmillan and Co. LTD., 1916), p. 16-17.

[792] Prof. Prof. Shakil Auj, *Ta'birat* (Karachi: Faculty of Islamic Studies, University of Karachi, June 2013), p.136.

that inevitably result in hatred and killings. The need is to improve social cohesion through interaction and inclusivity rather than denouncing the other. Imagine how peaceful our society would be if each Sunni, Shia or other sects' religious leaders, instead of claiming their absolute truth, would respect each other and impart compassion for other sects and religion. In any case, khushu (humility) and khudu (submission) are required in all rituals and if one is not humble in his/her heart would the prayers be rewarded? Humility cannot be achieved if one is convinced of her/his exclusive correctness.

Rationalism had lost its relevance in Pakistani society long before Prof. Auj. As renowned modernist scholar and philosopher of Islam Dr. Fazlur Rahman's reformed thoughts had no acceptance in the country in 1960s. Although he was the Harold H. Swift Distinguished Service Professor of Islamic Thought at the University of Chicago. "Fazlur Rahman's exasperation with the traditional scholars was interpreted as an insult to Islam. Despite the fact that he was a very devout Muslim, traditional scholars accused him of being anti-Islamic. Even today, the reforms he initiated as director of the Islamic Research Institute have been described as giving "a veneer of Islamization" to secular government."[793] Rahman's efforts were disregarded, and his Western Islamic education was perceived as training from the enemies of Islam. As a result of focusing on safeguarding traditions, his critics have lost the analytical and objective approach to learning. Fazlur Rahman explained his preference for choosing a Western university: "When I went to Oxford in 1946 for my doctoral work and met Sir Radhakrishnan, he asked me, "Why did you not go to Egypt rather than coming to Oxford?" "Islamic studies are pretty much as uncritical there as in India [those were pre-partition days]", I replied.[794]

Prof. Shakil Auj never went to the Western world.[795] Yet he had the rational approach; the Quran was his source. The traditionalists do not have space, even for someone who is from the same background. The ultra-conservatives believe that if someone studies the Quran holistically and objectively he/she is heretical. Nevertheless, Prof. Shakil Auj used to say that researcher has no religion, meaning that he/she is not bound to any certain sect or religion. This limitless freedom to think, absorb, and study from a variety of sources and climb each step of the learning ladder makes him/her a true scholar. The difference between a conservative traditionalist and a scholar is that the scholar searches in the ocean, where all streams flow, while the conservative is limited to one stream. The limited approach of influential conservatives limits social development. Consequently, the weaker sectors of society - women, and minorities suffer. In fact, the injustices they face are certainly against the holistic teachings of the Quran and the Prophet's fundamental aim to strengthen the weak and poor segments of the society.

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[793] Tamara Sonn, *A Brief History of Islam*, Op. Cit. p.151.

[794] Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity, Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), p.120.

[795] Ziaur Rahman mentioned the allegation of blasphemy from a speech Prof Auj gave during a visit to the United Sates, which is completely incorrect. Because he never went to any western country ever. Ziaur Rahman, A Pakistan Scholar Accused of Blasphemy Is Shot Dead, *The NewYork Times*, Sept.18, 2014, *https://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/19/world/asia/pakistan-shakil-auj-assassinated-blasphemy-karachi.html*

Moreover, conservatives are persistent in their entrenched notion of women's ideal attire. They adhere to the age-old concept of the covering of women's heads and faces, despite the fact that historically, both male and female Muslims used to cover their heads. Prof. Shakil Auj, in Nisaiyyat[796], has discussed the Quran's perspective regarding women's issues, including the controversial issue of outerwear attire, with insightful detail. His analysis shows that the traditional limitations cannot be validated by the Quran itself. The Quran's values are eternal and universal. Hence, the Quran does not limit women's working or their outerwear attire. It is a cultural tradition that prevailed in olden days around the globe that limits women's mobility by limiting them to their homes, segregating them, fixing the tenet of covering of their heads, and faces eternally.

وَلْيَضْرِبْنَ بِخُمُرِهِنَّ عَلَىٰ جُيُوبِهِنَّ

And the women should spread their dupattas (shawls) on their bosoms. (24:31)

'Khumr' is a plural of 'khimar' which means that extra sheet of cloth with which women usually covers their heads in Arab. 'juyub' is a plural of pocket and it is meant for the neck of a shirt. Virtually it is meant for bosom.[797]

Prof. Auj argues that if veiling the face is intended, then the verse in the Quran should be as وُجُوهِنَّ عَلَىٰ بِخُمُرِهِنَّ وَلْيَضْرِبْنَ i.e. instead of جُيُوبِهِنَّ it would be وُجُوهِنَّ (their face) which would clarify the fact that the face should be covered. But this sentence has shown very clearly that the Quran requires the women to cover their bosoms with an extra cloth, not their faces.[798] Prof. Auj's stance was that Muslim women are not obligated to cover their heads and faces. The Quran contains detailed descriptive directives for women, such as how they should dress while going out, that include minor details of showing their ornaments. It also describes where to expose of their beauty and in front of whom (24:31) It is unlikely that the Quran would omit a discussion about covering their heads. Even for important matters like prayers, the Quran does not give instructions with so many lucid details and clarifications. Therefore, Prof. Auj was convinced, that if it was the wish of God, as generally regarded, then the Quran would have stated it. Possibly, it was this global tradition of regarding women as a commodity; it was required that they be covered and secured, out of fear of being stolen. Prof. Auj once lamented that he had to limit revealing his thoughts regarding the covering of women's heads as society lacked the tolerance to digest his broadminded approach. He believed that the meaning and message of the Quran, which could be in conflict with traditions, needs to be understood. This is the real ugliness of our negative and limited, narrow thinking milieu, which does not welcome original thought. How can a society ever develop if it does not allow and acknowledge original thought? How can we progress if our scholars are uncomfortable about disclosing their ideas and findings, regardless of the validity of their arguments? Dr. Khalid Masud aptly stated, "only a dynamic society produces new ideas (that) can lead to a cultural renaissance."[799]

Auj further mentioned another important restriction designed for women by the traditional interpretation.

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[796] I am translation excerpts from Prof. Auj's book *Nisaiyyat.*

[797] Prof. Shakil Auj, *Nisaiyyat* (Karachi: Faculty of Islamic Studies, University of Karachi, 2012), p.247.

[798] Ibid.

[799] Khalid Masud, Islam *and Modernity*, Op.Cit. p.251.

قُل لِّلْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَغُضُّوا مِنْ أَبْصَارِهِمْ وَيَحْفَظُوا فُرُوجَهُمْ

Ask the believer men to reduce their stare (towards the stranger women i.e. bring chastity and modesty in their looks) and guard their private parts which could be at risk. (24:30)[800]

Auj gave a relatively new interpretation of this verse. Traditional interpreters claimed that men and women should "restrain" (Maududi) or "lower" (Pickthall, Wahiduddin Khan) their gazes.[801] That was interpreted to mean that men and women should not have any eye contact. This clearly interferes with women being able to function fully in the workplace. How could they interact and communicate with men at work without any eye contact? Thus, Auj interpreted this verse to mean that men are commanded to be careful in their intentions when interacting with women.

> This command can be meaningful only when the women are with their open faces. If their faces were veiled then the command of avoiding to look at them would be meaningless. Secondly, in مِنْ, مِنْ أَبْصَارِهِمْ is tabe'zia (parting) which shows that looking at the stranger women so that the light of man's gaze would surround them, is prohibited i.e. to look at them from head to toe or to stare them is forbidden but not the ordinary superficial look.

قُل لِّلْمُؤْمِنَاتِ يَغْضُضْنَ مِنْ أَبْصَارِهِنَّ وَيَحْفَظْنَ فُرُوجَهُنَّ

> Ask the believer women to reduce their gaze (towards stranger men i.e. bring chastity and the respect in their looks) and guard their private parts which could be at risk (24:31).

> The similar command has been given to both men and women to limit their stare. It means that holding looks and guarding private parts is not one- but a two-sided command. Therefore, in light of the Quranic verses, face veils cannot be implied unless ordered for both men and women. يَغْضُضْنَ مِنْ أَبْصَارِهِنَّ(to reduce their gaze). A covering with a veil for women that prevents men from a superficial look conflicts with the message of the Quran.

Another ceremonially famous verse that is commonly mentioned to restrain women's usage of ornaments is إِلَّا مَا ظَهَرَ مِنْهَا ۖ وَلَا يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ

> And (the women should) not show their beautification (Zeenat), except that which is shown by itself (24:31)

> 'Zeenat' refers to beautification and ornaments that women use generally. Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri had translated this verse as: "And do not show their ornaments and makeup except (that part) which is revealed by itself".[802]

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[800] Prof. Shakil Auj, *Nisaiyyat,* Op.cit. p.243

[801] http://tanzil.net/#24:30

[802] Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri, *Irfan-ul-Quran.* (Lahore, Minhaj-ul-Quran Publications, 2006), as referred by Prof. Shakil Auj, *Nisaiyyat*, Op.cit. p.245.

> Usually, scholars interpreted مَا ظَهَرَ مِنْهَا as meaning faces, hands, and feet of women, but the word 'minha' مِنْهَا shows that it is something more than the cosmetics of face, hands and wrists and feet which are generally applied on some special occasions. It is evident that when the above-mentioned parts of the body are visible, then their beautification will necessarily be shown.[803]

> لَا يَحِلُّ لَكَ النِّسَاءُ مِن بَعْدُ وَلَا أَن تَبَدَّلَ بِهِنَّ مِنْ أَزْوَاجٍ وَلَوْ أَعْجَبَكَ حُسْنُهُنَّ

> It is not lawful for you to marry more women after this, nor to change them for other wives, even though their beauty may please you (33:52)

> The charm of beauty that could mesmerize someone would be possible only if one could see the face. In this verse the Prophet is ordained with the possibility of their beauty may attract him that would only be possible if women's faces are open. But if their faces are veiled than it is not possible to see and inspire with the beauty.[804]

These are some of Auj's original methods of studying the Quran that resulted in exceptional evolution from traditional patterns. I have mentioned a few of his arguments because of the limitation of the space and not to divert away from the main theme. These arguments demonstrate his rational approach to the Quranic hermeneutics, even when his brave, firm views on rationality sidelined him from conservatives.

The Crisis Prof. Shakil Auj Had to Face

Pakistani society is becoming more radical daily through the entrenched, biased national curriculum and through the influence of well-established religious leaders. Research in Islamic Studies, if not in compliance with prevailing Pakistani Islamic traditions, is discouraged. However, courageous scholars like Prof. Auj do not find it easy to be silent.

He was a principled man; the formerly prevailing culture of privileging Madrasa graduates for admission and jobs in the faculty was impeded, after his taking position as a Dean of the faculty[805]. This intensified animosity in the circles of influential ultra-conservative religious authorities. Furthermore, owing to his moderate positions, Prof. Auj had to suffer backlash from conservative faculty members in his department. On top of this, he was confronted with his colleagues' plagiarized works and forged degrees. However, they had the backing of the powerful ultra-conservative religious leaders. Before becoming Dean, Prof. Auj had participated with his colleagues in launching a campaign against academic corruption.[806] As a result of this campaign, Dr. Jalal Uddin Ahmed Noori, the former Dean of the faculty, who had reached that position on the basis of his plagiarized Ph.D. thesis, was

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[803] Ibid.

[804] Ibid, p.252.

[805] Before Prof. Auj, the previous Dean was penalized by the Supreme Court because he plagiarized his PhD. thesis. So his office was sealed. After him, there was a temporary dean who was about to retire. Prof. Auj became Dean as he was the only Professor among the faculty; all others were either Assistant Professor or Associate Professors or lecturers in the faculty.

[806] *http://www.dawn.com/news/1023429*

suspended.[807] This was one of the reasons for the alienation Prof. Auj experienced. These professional enmities ultimately led to a conspiracy to declare him an infidel, which provided the motivation for his assassination.[808]

On 29th August 2012, a fatwa was released from Jamia Darul Uloom Karachi, saying that "in view of the details in front of us, Dr. Muhammad Shakil Auj has incredulous and apostate ideas. His theories lead to Shirk, innovation, and in many matters towards obvious Kufr (disbelief). Therefore, the rulings of apostate apply to him. People should be alert and away from his ideas." After two years, the day after of his assassination, the same Darul Uloom issued another statement, on the same letterhead, denying the previous fatwa. It says, "It is revealed to my knowledge that a TV channel is transmitting news that a fatwa was issued either from me or from Darul Uloom Karachi declaring Dr. Muhammad Shakil Auj واجب القتل (obligated to be assassinated). I, as the president of Jami Darul Uloom Karachi, and as Mufti president of Jamia Darul Uloom Karachi, clearly state that such kind of fatwa was never issued. It is further important to mention that two years back on 19th September 2012, Dr. Shakil Auj himself sent a letter to us, in which he asked us either to deny or confirm the fatwa attributed to Darul Ifta, declaring him as obligated to be assassinated. Therefore, after a full investigation by Darul Ifta, its rector, Mr. Maulana Mufti Abdu Rauf Sakhurwi had replied to him that no fatwa like that had issued from us. And the photocopy of the fatwa attached with the letter of Professor Shakil Auj was based on fraud and fake.

Now again I (Mufti Rafi Muhammad Usmani, President of Darul Uloom Karachi) and people of Darul Ifta, Maulana Mufti Mehmood Ashraf, Maulana Mufti Abdul Mannan, and Maulana Muhammad Yaqub, completely deny this fatwa.

Note: The letter that was sent to Prof. Shakil Auj is, as it is, secure in our records."

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My point is, instead of replying just to Prof. Shakil Auj, if he had issued this statement of denying the fatwa on time, as Prof. Auj had requested. It might have saved his life! Again the Ulama are blameworthy of silence. Silence on injustices has became significant to their character.

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807 http://www.dawn.com/news/976985/karachi-3-ku-teachers-face-suspension-over-plagiarism

808 http://tns.thenews.com.pk/the-power-of-fatwa/#.WCOjPPkrI2x

809 Haya Fatima Iqbal, Remembering Dr Shakeel Auj: The man who wasn't afraid, *Dawn*, Sept.18, 2015, https://www.dawn.com/news/1207553

My Recollections

Prof. Auj was amused by my intense liking for his writings and markings (he had the habit of marking his writings and inscribing notes on them). I never thought that there would be a time when I wouldn't be able to contact him. Professor Shakil Auj was a living example of rationalism and humane behavior. He was always there to answer his students' questions. He was one of the most humble men I ever met. While he would dictate notes to me as my research supervisor, freshman year students would often enter his room unannounced and ask very basic questions. Despite being the Dean of an entire Faculty, he would give detailed answers to their queries. I, on the other hand, would grit my teeth and curse my luck because such distractions would eat up a lot of precious time. His smile used to welcome everyone with such warmth that everyone really thought they were the closest to him.[810]

Once at the end of a long seminar, I was sitting in Prof. Auj's office when Prof. Auj saw Dr. Rehman (Dr. Waheedur Rehman, an Assistant Professor at Karachi University's Mass Communication department was also assassinated on the 29th of April 2015) is coming towards him and said with a smile, "Author save me from his questions!" as Dr. Rehman had complex questions about religion that needed long answers. Interestingly, Prof. Shakil Auj was one of those few teachers who respected criticism. He valued those who criticized him; he was known for enjoying his critics' comments. He used to write answers to the points they raised. That made him popular in both Indian and Pakistani scholars' circle. Once he laughingly stated that an honorable senior scholar, Allama Ghulam Rasool Saeedi, a former member of Islamic Ideology Council of Pakistan, called and asked Dr Auj to send all his books to him because his illness made it impossible for him to come in person. He wanted to write a traditionalist's response to Prof. Auj's arguments. Prof. Auj went to meet him in person and not only gave him all his books but also marked the places where he had written arguments that differed from the traditional interpretations.
I do not hold a grudge against the young man who killed him, because he was being used as a tool. It was the idea behind that tool that killed Prof. Auj. The man who did this heinous act of killing thought it was s a good deed! The entrenchment of sectarian hatred and restriction of thought, is the fruit of the ultra-conservatives' influence on Pakistani society. Prof. Auj's last sentence was, "Ap keh saktay hain kay Prof. Shakil Auj nay Quran main research ki hay!" (You can say that Prof. Shakil Auj has done research on the Quran) and that was not appreciated. After he died, I heard people say that that "he should not have disclosed his ideas boldly." Some openly stated that he "had heretical ideas," obviously accepting the ultra-conservatives' ideology. Yet everyone, whether ultra-conservative or progressive, is fed up with the corruption and the killings; the solution is that society desperately needs to change. Change is inevitable, God's blessing, and time's need, but the Quran has stipulated that it only comes about with society's effort. Indeed, God will not change the condition of a people until they change what is in themselves. (13:11)

Pakistani society currently is dominated by ultra-conservatives' ideas. The entrenchment of sectarian hatred and the restriction of thought are the results of their influence on Pakistani society. They have created boundaries; thoughts that do not fit within those boundaries are considered heretical. Professor Shakil Auj believed in freedom of thought and objective learning. He was left alone in his struggle. He

[810] *http://www.dawn.com/news/1207553*

was one of those scholars who extended the limits of knowledge and his work will be remembered in history as a milestone in the effort to bring imperatively needed change to society. Through his works in Urdu, Professor Shakil Auj greatly fostered the holistic study of the Quran, an achievement which cannot be diminished, as he is alive in the hearts of his students. Despite all the accusations, he was a true picture of Iqbal's following verse.

مرے خاک و خوں سے تو نے یہ جہاں کیا ہے پیدا صلۂ شہید کیا ہے تب و تاب جاودانہ

Out of my flesh and blood, You made this universe;
Its quenchless fever the martyr's crown of gold.

The possibility of immediate change in prevailing ideology appears improbable. However, I want to emphasize that Pakistani society suffers from the lack of critical thinking and objectivity. Silencing the voices of scholars is not a characteristic of the Islamic faith. Society should have respect for scholars, even if their research findings are in conflict with prevailing traditions. This is the only way out of the current stagnant and regressive milieu in Pakistani society.

Dr. Khalid Masud's Column

Dr. Khalid Masud wrote a column[811], that was published in *Daily Jinnah*, Islamabad; an Urdu newspaper after Prof. Auj's assassination. (I am translating it.)

> Professor Shakil Auj was assassinated in a murderous attack. اِنَّا لِلّٰهِ وَاِنَّا اِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ We belong to God and to Him we shall return. (2:156). There are many theories that have been presented regarding the reasons for the attack on him. Regardless, it is extremely worrying that scholars are being targeted in Karachi, one by one. Under these circumstances, it is important that the contributions of these scholars should be appreciated. We should realize that we are being deprived of such worthy and respected personalities.
>
> I met him first in 1995. Islamic Research Institute had conducted a workshop on Islamic medical ethics regarding fiqhi (juristic) issues of the transplantation of organs; donations of human organs, and postmortem examinations. To consider these issues, along with Ulama and fuqaha, physicians, lawyers, and traditional healers were invited as well. Prof. Shakil Auj read his research article on "The Transplantation of Organs and its Status in Sharia." It was well appreciated by the audience. After that, I remained in contact with him. Prof. Shakil Auj's services in the field of education and teaching, and the research work he left in his short lifetime, cannot all be described or even mentioned by name in this brief writing. However, in the field of Quranic studies, his recent books Nisaiyyat (2012) and Ta'abirat (2013) are important to mention.
>
> Shakil Auj is a well-known name regarding research and writing in the sciences of the Quranic exegesis. His Doctoral dissertation, research journal in the sciences of Tafseer (exegesis), and his research articles published in respected journals are a valuable addition in the studies of the Quranic sciences.
>
> In the exegesis of the Quran, discussion of the meaning, connotation, and denotation of its expressions has been a predominant trend for the deduction of laws and directives. One of

[811] Khalid Masud, "Dr. Muhammad Shakil Auj Shaheed aur Muta'lat-e-Quran" (Dr. Muhammad Shakil Auj Shaheed and Quranic Studies)," *Daily Jinnah.* Islamabad 2014 (n.d.; conveyed from author).

the new trends that has emerged in modern times for the interpretation of the Quran is a thematic method of exegesis, which has presented cultic, juristic, scholastic and sufiistic interpretations of the Quranic verses. Second is the traditional method, in which Hadith is the most important source for interpreting the Quran. In modern times, a new trend about Hadith has emerged that considers Hadith as *wahi* (revelation). This privileging of Hadiths as the arbiter of the eternal message of the Quran is a completely new approach. Among unconventional trends, four are important. One is the scientific study of the Quran that interprets the Quran in accordance with new scientific discoveries. Second is the historical study of the Quranic interpretation with the help of Shan-e-Nuzul (reasons of revelations), Siaq-o-sabaq (context), and Nasikh-o-Munsukh (regarding abrogation). There was an attempt to interpret the Quran via its order of revelation but it was unsuccessful. Third, a recent movement is a speculative historical trend of argumentation or understanding of the Quran's "double movements" of history. In this approach, modern historical understanding of today's' issues is attained through speculation on similar issues related to the earliest history of Islam that are mentioned in the Quran. The fourth trend is to understand the Quran via Quran. All four of them could be found in Shakil Auj's Quranic research but the fourth one is predominant. For the meaning and interpretations of the Quranic verses, he mainly depends on the Quran. Therefore, he considered the Quran as the basic source, which itself is a definite argument in its meaning. He does not consider only one verse for logical reasoning; rather studies every verse regarding that issue. Because of this style of inference, he often reached conclusions that were, at times, incompatible with cult interpretations and traditionally accepted views.

In Nisayyat (published in 2012), Professor Shakil Auj has penned all the issues of Women that came at the forefront in contemporary times. Other than traditional issues, whose interpretations are controversial today, he talked about the rights of women and the issues created by today's social life. He presented his research studies on issues like parda (veil), nail polish, Women's Witness, marriage by choice, and Misyar Marriage (Contract Marriage). According to Shakil Auj, the complexity of these issues developed due to inferences of the Quran via particular ways of living and social and customary rituals. For these issues, he preferred to infer directly from the Quran.

Professor Shakil Auj in his book "Ta'abirat" 2013 has documented the primary issue of "Ta'abir-e-Nusus" (inferring texts). In this book the principles and rules of inferring texts, Imam Abu Hanifa's principles of Quranic understanding, and Shah Waliullah's stance on the Nasikh-o-Munsukh (Abrogation) verses of the Quran are discussed. The excessiveness of sectarian inferences in Pakistan, via difference of opinion, instilled the approach of hatred and torture in the society. He avoided them and opted for the moderate way and argued independently on these issues. The reader of this book is exposed to both the old and modern methodologies of inferences. And the guided discussions are placed on the topics, which are the existing issues of today's world as well.

Shakil Auj's "Ta'abirat" was published at a time when the Islamic world was fighting a great war of freedom of thought, which is still continuing today. At one side the groups of conformists are presenting their interpretation of Islam, which insists that Muslims are to be isolated from others. Beyond that they also desired to see Muslims at war with others. On the other side, in the rest of Muslim societies, new ideological movements against coercion, economic exploitation, and ideological compulsion are protesting assertively.

Professor Shakil Auj was a ray of hope for Muslims in their existing ideological crisis. For the inferences of the Quranic interpretations, with the words of the texts, he gave importance to objective teachings as well. He talked about the unity of Muslims, and instead of isolating Muslims he called them to unite as humanity.

The last time I contacted him was two days before his Shahadat on the phone. He always kept me informed with all the good news. He was so happy that he was appointed as a member of the board of trustees of International Islamic University. My name was not mentioned in the list he had and so he was asking about me. I promised that I would look at the University's website and would inform him. But his assassination two days later did not let me fulfill my promise. May God grant fortitude to endure this irretrievable loss to his survivors; we all are included among them. Amen

Author with Prof. Shakil Auj

Tamgha e Imtiaz (Medal of Excellence) was conferred by President of Pakistan to Prof Dr Shakil Auj on 14th August, 2014, but received by his wife Mrs. Shaheen Afroz Auj after his assassination on 23rd March, 2015. Governor Sindh, Dr. Ishrat ul Ebad Khan is presenting it on behalf of President of Pakistan.

Appendix II

"**The Madian Document**

In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.

1. This book (document) has been prepared by Muhammad the Prophet of God, on behalf of the believers of Quraysh [the emigrants from Mecca] and Yathrib [Medina], the Muslims and those who have joined them, and those fighting along with them.
2. Surely, they form an umma (group) apart from the rest of humankind.
3. The migrants of Quraysh shall defray the cost of bloodshed among themselves as has been the custom and shall join in ransoming their war prisoners according to the proper and approved principles of justice among the believers.
4. The Banu ‘Awf shall continue to pay the costs of their bloodshed as they have been accustomed, and each group shall participate in ransoming their war prisoners according to the proper and approved principles of justice among the believers.
5. The Banu’l-Harith shall continue to pay the costs of their bloodshed as they have been accustomed, and each group shall participate in ransoming their war prisoners according to the proper and approved principles of justice among the believers.
6. The Banu Sa‘ida shall continue to pay the costs of their bloodshed as they have been accustomed to and each group shall participate in ransoming their war prisoners according to the proper and approved principles of justice among the believers.
7. The Banu Jusham shall continue to pay the costs of their bloodshed as they have been accustomed to and each group shall participate in ransoming their war prisoners according to the proper and approved principles of justice among the believers.
8. The Banu’n-Najjar shall continue to pay the costs of their bloodshed as they have been accustomed to and each group shall participate in ransoming their war prisoners according to the proper and approved principles of justice among the believers.
9. The Banu ‘Amr ibn ‘Awf shall continue to pay the costs of their bloodshed as they have been accustomed to and each group shall participate in ransoming their war prisoners according to the proper and approved principles of justice among the believers.
10. The Banu’n-Nabit shall continue to pay the costs of their bloodshed as they have been accustomed to and each group shall participate in ransoming their war prisoners according to the proper and approved principles of justice among the believers.
11. The Banu’l-Aws shall continue to pay the costs of their bloodshed as they have been accustomed to and each group shall participate in ransoming their war prisoners according to the proper and approved principles of justice among the believers.
12. The Muslims shall not leave anyone among them under financial burden (in this situation), and shall pay the debts thereof, arising from ransoms for war prisoners and costs of bloodshed, according to the proper and approved principles.

12B. No Muslim shall oppose the mawla (person with whom a contractual brotherhood has been established) of another Muslim. (According to another reading: No Muslim may enter into an agreement with the mawla of another Muslim, so as to harm the latter.)
13. All God-fearing Muslims shall be against the person who intends to commit an aggressive and unjust act among them, or who aims to infringe one's right or to cause turmoil among believers. And even if this person is the offspring of one of them, they shall all raise their hands against him.
14. No Muslim shall kill another Muslim for the sake of an unbeliever and shall assist an unbeliever at the expense of a Muslim.
15. God's possession (protection and assurance) is one; (a protection acknowledged by the least important of the Muslims) applies to them all. This is because a Muslim is the mawla (brother) of another, apart from rest of the people.
16. Among Jews, those who submit to us shall receive our assistance and protection; they shall not be oppressed, nor shall we give assistance to their enemies.
17. Peace is one among Muslims. No Muslim, in a war fought in the path of God, may agree to a peace accord by excluding other believers. This peace shall only be made among them (Muslims) according to the principles of generalizability and justice.
18. All those (military) groups joining us in war shall be relieved in turn.
19. Muslims shall take revenge for each other of the blood shed for (the sake of) God.
20. Surely, God-fearing Muslims follow the best and the straightest path.
20B. No polytheist may protect the life and property of one of the Quraish and can intervene with a believer in this matter (may not prevent an attack on the Quraish).
21. If it is proven with certainty that one person has killed a Muslim and the guardian (defender) of the victim does not grant a pardon, rules of retaliation shall operate; in this case all Muslims shall be against him. It is only halal (right) for them to act in compliance (with this rule).
22. It is not halal (right) for any Muslim believing in God and the Day of Judgment, accepting the contents of this sheet (document), to assist a murderer and to provide protection for him; whoever helps him and provides protection shall receive the curse and wrath of God on the Day of Judgment, when financial compensation or sacrifice shall no longer be accepted.
23. Any issue over which you are divided shall be taken to God and Muhammad. 24. Jews along with Muslims shall bear (their own) war expenses during war.
25. The Jews of Banu ‘Awf, together with Muslims constitute an umma (group). The religion of the Jews is for themselves, the religion of Muslims for themselves. This includes both their mawla and themselves personally.
25B. But whoever performs an unjust action or commits a crime shall harm solely himself and members of his family.
26. The Jews of Banu’n-Najjar shall have the same (rights) as the Jews of Banu ‘Awf.
27. The Jews of Banu’l-Harith shall have the same (rights) as the Jews of Banu ‘Awf.
28. The Jews of Banu Sa‘ida shall have the same (rights) as the Jews of Banu ‘Awf.
29. The Jews of Banu Jusham shall have the same (rights) as the Jews of Banu ‘Awf.
30. The Jews of Banu’l-Aws shall have the same (rights) as the Jews of Banu ‘Awf.
31. The Jews of Banu Tha’laba shall have the same (rights) as the Jews of Banu ‘Awf. But whoever performs an unjust action or commits a crime shall harm solely himself and members of his family.

32. The Jafna (family) is a branch of the Tha'laba [tribe] and because of this they shall be considered as the Tha'laba.
33. Banu'sh-Shutaiba shall have the same (rights) as the Jews of Banu 'Awf. (The rules) shall be obeyed absolutely; no one shall break them.
34. The mawla of the Tha'laba shall be considered as Tha'laba themselves.
35. Those who have taken refuge with the Jews (bitana) shall be considered as Jews themselves.
36. Among them (Jews) none may go (on a military campaign with the Muslims) without the permission of Muhammad.
36B. It shall not be forbidden to take revenge of a wound. Surely if a person happens to kill another, both he and his family shall be responsible as a consequence, otherwise there shall be injustice (meaning any person not obeying this rule shall have been unjust). God is with those who best obey this Document.
37. (In case of war) Jews bear their expenses and the Muslims theirs. Surely they shall cooperate among themselves, in opposing those who wage war against the people designated on this sheet (document). There shall be benevolence and good behavior between them. (The rules) shall be obeyed absolutely; no one shall break them.
37B. No one may commit a crime against his ally; surely the oppressed shall receive help.
38. Jews along with Muslims shall bear the expenses of wars fought together.
39. On behalf of a person designated by this sheet (document), the Yathrib valley (jawf) constitutes a harem (protected) territory.
40. Any person under protection (jar) is like the protector himself; he shall not be oppressed nor shall he commit any crime.
41. Excepting those with permission to give protection, no one may be given the right to protection.
42. All cases of murder and fighting that occur among the people designated in this sheet (Document) shall be taken to God and His Messenger Muhammad. God is with those who best obey this Document.
43. Neither the Quraish nor those assisting them shall receive protection.
44. There shall be cooperation among them (Muslims and Jews) against those who invade the Yathrib.
45. If they (the Jews) are invited (by the Muslims) to adhere to a peace agreement or to take part in a peace agreement, they shall either directly sign it or participate in it. If they (the Jews) suggest the same things (to the Muslims), they shall have the same rights from the Muslims; excepting cases of war over religious issues.
45B. Each group is responsible for the area belonging to it (with regards to its defense and other needs).
46. The Jews of al-Aws, meaning their mawla and themselves, shall have the same rights agreed upon on this sheet (document), with strict and complete obedience from the people designated on this sheet (document). (The rules) shall be obeyed absolutely; no one shall break them. God is with those who best and truly observe the rules described on this sheet (document).
47. This book (document) shall not protect the perpetrator of an unjust act or a crime from punishment. Whoever goes to war shall have security and whoever remains in Medina shall also have security; except

those who commit an unjust act or a crime. God and His Messenger Muhammad shall protect those who observe (this sheet) with complete loyalty and care."[812]

[812] Ali Bulaç, The Medina Document, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, *http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/article/book/islam-9780195116212/islam-9780195116212-chapter-19?_hi=1&_pos=1*

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