

## Politics of Madrassa Reforms and Changing Trends in Education Policies in Pakistan: A Case Study of Musharraf Regime

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### ABSTRACT

Education Policy is devised to regulate education system according to exigencies of time to get required outcome. Pakistan has developed various education policies to make her education more effective especially madrassas education for development society. This study is intended to provide changing trends about madrasa in all education policies from 1947 to 2009 wherein every policy document has attractive recommendations for effectiveness of education in madrassas, but these policies recommendations were only confined to policy papers due to lacking implementation. However, Musharraf government has taken feasible measures to reform madrasa education by introducing secular subjects with apposite financial aids. This reform scheme became partial successful in improving education in madrassas. This study is based on primary and secondary data where primary is collected from policy makers. This research is informed from discourse analysis for drawing conclusion of this study. The result of study has pointed out that madrasas education is still ineffective due gap between theory and practice. This study has recommended that effective policy measures to improve education in madrassas should only be realized with effective implementation.

**Keywords:** Curriculum, Education, Ideology, Government Agenda, Madrassa Reform, Policy Vision

### INTRODUCTION

Madrasa is an Arabic term which means a school for teaching or imparting knowledge for well-being of humanity. It is generally recognized as a school of learning where Islamic subjects are taught (Blanchar, 2008). It is an institutionalized system of education where Quran, Hadith and Fiqah are used as curriculum for both teaching and learning (S. Rehman, 2002). Madrasa occupies a significant place in spreading teaching of Islam around the world. Pakistan inherited culture of madrasas education along-with public education from British government wherein madrasas education was provided by 245 madrasas (Pakistan, 1955). The Madrasa education system started mushroom like growth to religious education to Muslim population as Pakistan was created as "Muslim State." wherein madrasas increased their number for provide Islamic education to Muslim population. However, government by keeping in view the meager capacity of infrastructural and economic ladder had focused on modern education and adopted policy of neglect for

regulating madrasas education under control of education department. This neglected of government about madrasa education could be justified in First educational conference of 1947 which was lacking clear policy direction for effectiveness of madrasas education. It is due to least priority of Government that administrators of madrasas education started regulating education activities through their own rule and scheme of fund raising to meet economic needs. This financial dependency on fund from outside like philanthropists and other non-governmental organizations had put madrasas education in hand of fortune seeker. These fortune seekers introduced mechanism of organizing Madrasas education on sectarian bases for escalation sectarian education within society (Muslim Sajjad, 1995). It was in decade of 1950s, when madrasas formally initiated establishing their respective boards inform from their respective religious thoughts (Ahle-Hadith, Bareilvi, Deobandi and Shia) to impart sect base teachings, conduct examination and award degrees to students. There were four boards and Madrasas were made bound to have affiliation with particular

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boards based upon sectarian orientation. These boards were responsible for revising curriculum, providing registration for exams and scheduled examination at different stages. They were soul responsible for collection of fees for registration and examinations. This step of formation of their respective boards on the bases of religious thoughts even could not get the attention of education policy makers which ensured their autonomy and independence from government. Accordingly, being independent and autonomous entities, these educational institutions promoted practice of teaching sectarian-based knowledge (Zaidi, March 4, 2013).

It was in 1983, when a fifth board for religious education started its functioning as an autonomous board. This board was established by Jamat-e-Islami and was the pioneer board not having any sectarian affiliation. This board is known as "Rabta-tul-Madaris A-Islamiya" in the pages of history. This board is quite distinct than other four boards because this board pursuing education system informed from modernized education through teaching subjects like economics, history and politics (Khalid, 1995). This Madrasa system is providing training and skills to refute western point view by giving Islamic narrative on any issue. Despite of these five boards there are some autonomous institutions, and which are teaching Islamic knowledge like Fiqah, Hadith and Tafseer and these institutions are not affiliated with any board and enjoying status of degree awarding institutions independently (Khalid, 2005). It worth to mention that all these madrasas affiliated with five Boards and independent institutions are following Dars-e-Nazami as their scheme of study and contributing in promotion of Islamic norms and values.

It is interesting to mention that Zia regime had used madrasas as tool to fight proxy under name of "Jihad" or "Holy War" with Soviet Union. Zia used madrasas as factories of producing "Mujahid" or Warrior to fight in Afghanistan. This strategy of Zia has changed dynamics of education in madrasas which not only fabricate social fabric but also spread extremism and violence within society (Singer, 2001). The tragic event of 9/11 has changed dynamics of world which poured derogatory remark about madrasas as declaring them as universities of extremism and terrorism (Ijaz-ul-Haq, 2018) which led Musharraf government to reform madrasas education to make madrasas as part of development. Therefore, Musharraf government had introduced changed scheme of study by introducing modern subjects and banning publication of hatred material by madrasas. The government had also established modern madrasas in pursuance of reform.

## **THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL BASE OF STUDY**

This study is based on primary and secondary data. Primary data is collected through interview from education and religious ministers. Discourse analysis is used to analyze data particularly from education policies as presented in table 1. This study has used governmentality to justify the changing direction for madrasas due to changes in regime. The governmentality theory provided guidance about government role in controlling

population through education as it is done in Pakistan by various government through madrasas education.

## **EDUCATION POLICIES AND DISCOURSE OF MADRASAS REFORM IN PAKISTAN**

Since the inception of Pakistan, different governments have formulating education policies to provide trained and technical human capital generally and particularly to tackle menace of illiteracy giant. The First Education Conference in 1947 was lacking instructions and guideline to streamline these traditional madrasas by delegating madrasas regulation power to respective provincial governments that ultimately made these institutes autonomous within their spheres. However, successor of First Education Conference came with proper instructions and guidelines for addressing the issue of traditional education by madrasas through reform. The stance of reform in Madrasas education is clear in statements of education policies of 1959, 1969, 1970, 1979, 1992, 1998 and 2007 to bridge gaps therein through integration madrasas education with public education.

## **MADRASAS REFORMS UNDER SHARIF COMMISSION REPORT**

Sharif Report was the first education policy document containing policy statements regarding traditional madrasas education reforms through introducing modern subjects (English, Social Studies, Philosophy Science and Humanities) to integrate these madrasas with modern education system (Pakistan, 1959). Sharif Report was having 27 chapters in which chapter 9 was dealing with Islamic education and its role in socio-political development of society. Whereas, 20th chapter of the report was having perspective of reforms in existing education system of madrasas by removing non-functional and irrational subjects from scheme of study of madrasas and inserting modern subjects for making human capital compatible to market requirement (Mumtaz Ahmed, 2016).

It was due to outcome of 20th chapter of the report that Ayub government created a committee for reforming traditional madrasas education in 1960. This committee was composed of Ulemas and bureaucrats. However, ulemas participation in the committee were marginal than bureaucrats. This committee recommended in 1962 that the curriculum of Dars-e-Nazami was overloaded with non-religious and irrational subjects which needed to be eliminated and added new modern subjects in existing scheme of study for development of madrasas. There were around 700 madrasas who were removing two subjects' philosophy and logics from curriculum of Dars-e-Nazami in 1962 due to their non-productivity and outcome in the society (Zaman, 2004).

Ayub government had developed mechanism of regulating madrasa education through department of aquaf for smooth development of madrasas education. Before government of Ayub, madrasas were free from government sphere and having economic dependence on property of aquaf and shrines. Government had opted systematic ways of aquaf rules to control

madrasas education system and made these madrasas bound to impart modern subjects as integral part of their curriculum under government scheme. Government of Ayub Khan took a very constructive step in utilizing the capabilities and potential of graduates of traditional madrasas by providing job opportunities as imams and teachers in government run mosques where they were offered attractive salaries and provided space to play their role in the development of society. Government paid more attention for the development of madrasas education in West Pakistan and took an initiative for establishment of an academy where training was provided to ulemas under supervision of Egyptian teacher who were renowned scholars and hired by aquaf department to regulate system of reform for the society (Husnul Amin, 2015). This scheme of newly established academy under patronage of aquaf department was pursued to teach subjects including civics, economics, history, geography and international politics to make students capable of understanding the problems and counter these problems by developing social harmony and overcoming sectarian difference for betterment of society. The government hired the services of ulemas under project of USAID to offer trainings to adult people and boosted their morals in farming and agriculture for socio-economic development of society. Federal government had established an advisory council named "Islamic Ideological Council" in which ulemas had to play their constructive role in making society more prosper and developed (Bano, 2007).

The most important element of Sharif report was to emphasize on primary education by not involving madrasas in promotion of primary education. Primary education was made compulsory for everyone and after completion of primary education, the report acknowledged the role of madrasas for promotion of religious education. According to statement and stance of report on quality of education, Madrasas and Maktab were highly discouraged to be involved in the sphere of imparting education at primary level. (Pakistan, 1959).

Although, Ayub took very constructive and seminal steps to improve quality of education in madrasas by introducing modern subjects in the curriculum of madrasas but these steps could not be sustained in longer term due to Indo-Pak war in 1965 and protesting students against the liberal policy of Ayub put Pakistan into political turmoil which forced Ayub to discontinue its policies by resigning from the post of President of Pakistan (Ali, 2009).

## **NOOR KHAN REPORT'S NARRATIVE ON MADRASAS EDUCATION**

In 1969, Yahya Khan Government established a commission which is popularly known as "Noor Khan Commission" to restructure education system of Pakistan and recommending measures to bridge the existing knowledge gap between modern education and Madrasas education (Pakistan, 1969). The commission presented a report and recommended the restructuring of madrasas education system according to requirements of current societal trends by introducing modern subjects of science and social sciences. This report also recommended measures to provide trainings about modern

subjects to the teachers of madrasas. Noor Khan report emphasized on framing the system of equivalence for both education systems (Madrasas and Modern education) at all levels to make graduates of madrasas to get equal employment opportunities and became active members of society by contributing in the progress of society (Dr. Waqar-un-Nisa Faiz, 2012). The unique character of the report was to present agenda of regulating all educational activities of madrasas under patronage of government by setting up Madrasas Education Board in West Pakistan which is responsible to developing curriculum, conducting exams and awarding degrees and as guardian of quality of education based on modern needs of the society. Invalid source specified.. It is worth to mention that all madrasas in East Pakistan were being controlled by Madrasas Education Board while West Pakistan was lacking such like institution to regulate the educational system of madrasas (Siddiqui, 2016).

The commission recommended progressive changes in existing system of Pakistan which could not be implemented in true spirit because of political chaos in Pakistan.

## **EDUCATION POLICY OF 1970 AND MADRASAS REFORMS THEREIN**

The Education Policy of 1970 had focused on statutory status of madrasas education system and its amalgamation with general education system to produce viable human capital for societal prosperity. The policy paper highlighted significance of introducing assimilated curricula in both existing education systems to make these two parallel but opposite systems to be aligned for providing best career for young generation of the society (Pakistan, 1970). This policy by following the foot prints of predecessor recommended formation of Madrasas Education Board in West Pakistan and grant statutory status to both Madrasas Education Boards in East and West Pakistan for regulating their education systems by inspecting quality of education therein (Siddiqui, 2016). The recommendation of education policy 1970 had met the same fate and became silent in document without being implemented.

## **EDUCATION POLICY OF 1972 AND NARRATIVE OF STATUS QUO FOR MADRASAS EDUCATION**

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto had launched the policy of nationalization especially educational institutions to develop egalitarian society. The government introduced curriculum reforms in public schools but left religious sphere of education system unturned. The education policy of 1972 exclusively maintained position of status quo by not introducing curriculum reforms in religious educational institutions and recommended these institutions to follow their own curricula freely (Pakistan, 1972). Bhutto government tried to facilitate the teachers and students of madrasas by giving them concessions in getting employment opportunities in different department of government by recognizing and awarding equivalence to the certificate of

madrasas to master Islamic studies through putting condition to qualify graduate level English (Malik, 1998).

## DISCOURSE OF MADRASAS REFORMS UNDER EDUCATION POLICY OF 1979

In 1977, General Zia-ul-Haq started restructuring process of socio-political dynamics of society under banner of Islamization. He focused on restructuring of education to minimize the differences existed in curriculum of madrasas and schools. His government announced an education policy in 1979 which was having full detailed chapter on Islamic education in which policy makers recommended to have one board to ensure the unified curriculum and standardized teaching patterns to have same minded and well-equipped pupils (Pakistan, 1979). This policy had propagated an inimitable idea of common curricula for both madrasas and schools to provide common platform of learning to pupils of both streams. Under the scheme of common curriculum government promoted the design of Mosque Schools where students were imparted Nazira Quran and modern education as well. Madrasas graduates were provided employment opportunities as a teacher under government patronage where a person could get handsome amount as salary (Khalid, 1995). Despite the scheme of Mosque Schools, government recommended a programme of indoctrinating modern subjects in existing curriculum of all madrasas (Pakistan, 1979).

This policy document had provided scheme of financial assistance by government in terms of scholarship and loans to boost modernized madrasas education and put it in line of development. This government put insights of imparting technical skills to form trained human capital (Pakistan, 1979).

## MADRASAS REFORMS GUIDELINE IN EDUCATION POLICY OF 1998

The education policy of 1998 had set standard for education at all levels. The education policy had emphasized on one Madrasas Board for regulating and coordinating all madrasas to develop a unified curricula, examination and degree endorsement (Pakistan, 1998). It recommended establishing system of giving foreign scholarship to students of madrasas to go abroad to have specialized education in any field of Islam. The policy paper proposed scheme of scholarship and financial aid to facilitate students of madrasas. The government had proposed to introduce modern subjects' mathematics, economic, Pakistan studies, English and general science to be taught in madrasas. It urged to have a mechanism of equivalence where certificate (Asnad) could be equated to formal certificates (Pakistan, 1998).

## MADRASAS REFORMS AND PARADIGM SHIFT IN WHITE PAPER OF 2007

The white paper on education provided systematic way of reforming madrasas education by adding subjects of formal

education in curriculum scheme of madrasas. This policy document had proposed an exclusive scheme of equivalence by integrating madrasas education by removing sectarian differences to develop unity and integrity with society based on true teachings of Islam (Alvi, 2007). This policy has provisions about scheme of integration with formal education by introducing modern subjects wherein students have to pass Urdu, English, Pakistan studies and basic mathematic for securing high school certificate. While for securing certificate of higher secondary school, students have to pass Urdu, English and two other elective subjects in replacement to Pakistan studies (Alvi, 2007). This policy document further clarifies that no one creates any hurdle or prejudice in provisions of imparting any religious teaching. The most distinct feature of this educational document was not having separate chapter on Islamic education as its forerunner policy documents.

**Table 1:** Changing Narrative of Madrasa Education in Education Policies of Pakistan.

Category	Policy Statement
<b>Madrasa Education Reform</b>	<b>1947</b> This policy document is lacking clear cut directions for restructuring madrasas education system however, policy document recommended provincial and state governments to regulate madrasas education (Pakistan, 1947).
	<b>1959</b> The curricula of Maktab, madrasas and Dar-ul-uloom are overloaded with courses in religion and allied subjects, without any regard to the needs of such studies of mathematics, science, social studies and humanities (Pakistan, 1959, p. 287). At Elementary stage, education must be broad based and curricula of Maktab, madrasas and Dar-ul-uloom should make due provision for subjects of study which will give their students some training for the vocational or professional courses they may later choose to follow. At the higher levels these institutions must present Islam as a dynamic and progressive movement which can endure to changing times. The dynamic spirit of Islam can be imbibed only if Islam is presented in every age in the light of the latest advances of science, philosophy, economics and contemporary history (Pakistan, 1959, p. 287).



There is need to revisit curricula of madrasas and bring in subjects that are contemporary and helpful (Pakistan, 1959, p. 287).

Schooling at madrasas is an option only at the secondary and higher levels of education and only for those students who particularly want to pursue religious studies. Therefore, there should be no Madrasa or Maktab for primary education (Pakistan, 1959, p. 142).

#### 1969

Remote as these madrasas are from the trends of secular education, they have also been found wanting in serving the need of Pakistan. In view of this it is necessary to restructure completely (the) education system in light of present day national requirement (Pakistan, 1969, p. 1).

The teaching of mathematics and science subjects should be introduced in "madrasas" and special programmes should be undertaken to train their teachers to teach such modern subjects (Pakistan, 1969, p. 3).

Equivalence should be established between the various stages of madrasas education and those of modern education, so that the product of madrasas can obtain all those jobs which, at present, are only available only to those who have had modern education (Pakistan, 1969, p. 3).

#### 1970

Establishing an equivalence between courses offered in madrasas and in institutions of general education (Pakistan, 1970, p. 15)

Enabling their products to be assimilated in economic life of the nation; and examine the question of strengthening the organizational set up and giving a statutory status to the madrasas education board in East Pakistan and the development of institutional arrangements for the same purpose for the province of West Pakistan (Pakistan, 1970, p. 15).

#### 1972

Status Quo will be maintained in respect of institutions imparting exclusively religious instruction such as Maktabas, Madrasas, Darul-Ulooms, etc., run by Muslims and similar institutions run by any other religious denomination Invalid source specified.

#### 1979

Constitution of study groups for exploring the possibilities of creating a madrasas board for standardization and uniformity of teaching and clarification

Making recommendations about possibilities of introducing common curriculum in primary schools and Maktabas;

To make recommendations regarding the integration, improvement and modernization of curricula

To make assess the needs of these institutions and make recommendations to the government for grants, scholarships and loans

To evaluate existing programmes and Suggest methods and means to introduce the element of skill development (Pakistan, 1979, pp. 44-45).

#### 1992

This policy document is lacking clear cut directions for restructuring madrasas education system however, policy document have direction about Islamic education in formal education.

#### 1998

The establishment of Deeni madrasas board for uniform standard of Deeni madrasas education through registration, standardization of curricula and examination system, equivalence of asnad, award of foreign scholarship, grant in-aid and financial assistance by government (Pakistan, 1998, p. 14).

In order to integrate the general education with madrasas education, subject like English, mathematics, general science, economics and Pakistan studies should be included in the curricula of Deeni Madrasas and

their asnad at matric, intermediate, and at graduate levels shall be equated with formal education (Pakistan, 1998, p. 15).

2007

The students of madrasas at Secondary School Certificate level shall have to qualify in General Mathematics, Urdu, English and Pakistan Studies for equivalence. For Higher Secondary School Certificate, two elective subjects approved by HSSC scheme of Studies 2006 made mandatory for madrasas in place of Pakistan Studies for equivalence, shall be implemented. The federal government shall provide necessary support to the madrasas to teach these subjects (Alvi, 2007, p. 8).

What we need is not to deride the Madrassahs, or require its so called mainstreaming, but to ensure that providers of religious education are converted to the cause of true Islam with a purpose to unite and purify people, and not for the purpose of widening the gulf between various schools of religious thoughts and in producing an individual divorced from reality and living in a fantasy world. The vast majority of Madrassahs are now incorporating subjects other than Islamic sciences also in their curricula and the equivalence granted to them for the purposes of participation in economic activity should be in proportion to the level of such incorporations (Alvi, 2007, p. 57).

Like the Madrassahs, schools for religious education of any faith, should not be handicapped by any prejudice or fear (Alvi, 2007, p. 57).

2009

Provision of an opportunity for all existing and future madrasas to excel and enhance the services they already provide to the nation,

Provision of funds for education and socio-economic welfare of students;

Further training to enhance skills of teacher;

Support in vocational training to equip students to generate income,

Advice and assistance in streamlining policies, objectives, and syllabi to give graduates a competitive edge in job market and for placement in institutions of higher education (Pakistan, 2009, p. 34).

Source: Education Policies of Pakistan

## MUSHARRAF REGIME: A PARADIGM SHIFT IN MADRASA REFORM

Musharraf government initiated programme of transforming madrassa from traditional to modern by keeping in view pace of changing trends of education under globalization regime. This scheme of transformation of society could only be achieved through inserting modern subjects to develop uniformity in Madrassa education. As there was lacking uniformity in madrassas 'education system which is based on sectarian narrative and responsible for imparting religious teaching. The main task as being education minister was to launch appropriate scheme of reform acceptable for all madrassas to streamline them with formal education system (Jalal, 2018). The madrassas education is much distinct from rest of education system due having least government interference, zero financial aid by governments to run their affairs and organizing their all activities through having domestic and foreign financial assistance (Dogar, 2010). Madrassas as being places of free religious education along-with accommodation and foods attracted large stratum of poor students to be part of this system. However, Madrassas established on sectarian grounds like Ahle-Hadith, Bareilvi, Deobandi and Shia and promoting sectarian based identities (Ali, 2012). According to Qazi, madrassa education is main problem in creating division based on sects and devastating social fabric of society. The government had to address the issue of traditional education system of madrassas to make it compatible according global changing trends as well as their role in creating sectarian division within society that was real threat for collective identity (Qazi, 2018). By keeping in view these problems of madrassas education, government produced a piece of legislation in 18th august, 2001 for appropriate solution wherein madrassas education would be regulated under patronage of ministry of religious affair. Parliament unanimously passed an ordinance name Model Deeni Madaaris and Madrassa to lay the foundation of Pakistan Madrassas Education Board to modernize traditional education system of madrassas (Zaidi, March 4, 2013). This board was given the responsibility of overhauling madrassas by revising curricula, examination and most important by providing trainings to madrassas teachers to develop standardized regulation for uniformity and coherence among all madrassas (Ali, 2009). This board gave a new scheme of study by adding other subjects than religious ones like English, Urdu, General Mathematics, Pakistan studies, but priority would be given to the teachings of

religious contents (Zaidi, March 4, 2013). Government had also promised to establish model madrasas under this ordinance whereas government somewhat fulfilled its promise by setting up three model madrasas in Hyderabad, Karachi and Islamabad. This ordinance promised to register 25000 under patronage of modernized scheme of government but became successful in putting only 449 (Iqbal, 2003). Government efforts to materialize this ordinance proved to be deficient and government could not get fruitful result for this ordinance.

This piece of legislation was passed before tragic event of 9/11 where government was addressing domesticated problem sectarian violence while tragic event of 9/11 stigmatized madrasas as factories of producing terrorists (Kronstadt, 2004). After incident of 9/11, spell of reforms got further moment wherein a new ordinance called Voluntarily Registration of Regulation Ordinance was introduced in 2002 (Abdul Rauf Iqbal, 2015). According to this ordinance, madrasas were banned to accept foreign aids and also asked to get registered on voluntary bases with ministry of religious affairs. Although parliament played her role by passing this ordinance, but the ordinance could not have signature of president for its promulgation.

In 2004, Musharraf chanted slogan of enlightened moderation to transform muslim society generally and Pakistan particularly by emphasizing on impelling idea of liberal Islam through reforming orthodox interpretation of Islam as well as stagnant curricula of madrasas. Government took another step by producing a new legislation named Madrassa Reform Programme in 2004. This programme had given comprehensive outlines for reforming madrasas by including modern subjects like Computer, Economics, English, General Mathematics and Pakistan studies or Social studies in existing curriculum of madrasas (Ali, 2012). This reform has attempt of madrasas mainstreaming through including modern subjects with financial aids of 5727 million to modernize 8000 within time span of five years. However, government had become successful in transforming only 507 madrasas on modern pattern and missed the target of achieving 8000 modernized madrasas within five years (Dogar, 2010).

The foremost problem for regulating madrasas education was lacking apposite plan of registration for madrasas because all madrasas were being registered under Societies Registration Act 1860 and even Benazir government abolish madrasas registration under Societies Registration Act 1860 (Ghulam Shabir, 2012). According to Haq, decade of 1990s had seen mushroomed like growth of madrasas without government control. Musharraf government became serious in addressing issue of madrasas registrations to regulate madrasas which could be possible with systematic registration design. Therefore, Musharraf regime in 2005, introduced amendments in Societies Registration Act 1860 and gave new ordinance of 2005 which made mandatory for all madrasas to get registered under this ordinance as no madrasas is authorized to run it affairs without getting registered (Ijaz-ul-Haq, 2018). Every newly established had to register under this ordinance. All madrasas were bound to submit their report of educational activities annually. It was made obligatory for all madrasas to provide information about

their income and expenditure on annual bases. The main feature of this ordinance was to completely proscribe all madrasas to publish any kind of hatred material which prompt violence and terrorism within society. Government produced a master piece in shape of this ordinance and this ordinance also gave systematic way of regulating madrasas by having their annual reports about all activities. However, government could not get fruit due to negating the agreed term and conditions with madrasas administrations.

## EDUCATION POLICY OF 2009 AND MADRASAS REFORM

Education policy of 2009 was announced by the government of Pakistan under the premiership of Syed Yousaf Raza Galani. This education policy had separate chapter on Islamic education which had a detailed view of imparting Islamic contents through education and also had directions for madrasas education restructuring by integrating it with formal education system. It recommended providing appropriate funds for madrasas students to make them socio-economically better off and these funds guaranteed welfare of students. They emphasized on teacher training for better future of students (Pakistan, 2009). It is only policy document which proposed to impart technical education to the students of madrasas to make them capable to generate income for themselves. It had clear directions for streamlining madrasas education with job market by improving curriculum and providing space for higher education.

## MADRASA REFORM AND THE RESPONSE OF MADRASA BOARDS

The landmark triumph of Musharraf government was to motivate all five boards of madrasas to form an alliance which is popularly known as Itihad-i-Tanzimat Madaris-e-Pakistan (ITMP) (Ali, 2012). ITMP has to act as representative body of five madrasas boards with aim to constitute a frame of common problems faced by madrasas to discuss and negotiate with government machinery to resolve these problems. ITMP is having authority to negotiate all madrasas issue as a sole representative of all boards and also designated to impart standardized Islamic education as well as to facilitate all information regarding curriculum development of madrasas. It also provided a proper vista of cooperation between government and madrasas as this unified body was absent in past which led communication gap between government and madrasas and lacking systematic negotiation at both ends. Although, ITMP was created to launch modernizing scheme of madrasas to compete global challenges. However, ITMP declared this scheme of modernizing madrasas as initiative of West and driven by their funding. Thus, develop element of distrust between government and ITMP. Due to distrust that all these measures to reform madrasas could not become more effective in achieving set targets by government.

## CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF REFORM SCHEME

Musharraf's regime had taken favorable steps in mainstreaming of madrassas, to make the students as a competitive human capital and grooming as the agents of development within society with having modern education along-with religious education. It is noticeable in every education policy from 1947, 1958, 1969, 1972, 1979, 1992 and 1998 that had maintained the space for direction of mainstreaming of madrassas. Despite of these policy promises by every regime; madrassas education system was regulated by colonial inherited decree of Societies Registration Act of 1860, which showed negligible attitudes of every regime in realizing the importance of policy promises into reality through implementation. Thus, policy promises were confined to policy documents which provided space for madrassas to grow freely without appropriate standard of education. It was due to mismanagement of the government that madrassas education system was flourished on sectarian basis with the narrative of self-help. Madrassas as being private organizations had developed their respective boards to ensure quality of education informed from various sects. There have been five madrassas boards which have been following their unique pattern of curriculum quite distinct from the other ones. The dissimilarity existed in quality of education in madrassas education within Pakistan. These madrassas rather being a platform of religious education were the source of sectarian division and acute violence within the society. Musharraf's regime, by keeping in view the existing problems particularly sectarian division, had extended sphere of education sector reform scheme for streamlining the system of madrassas education with formal education system. Musharraf's government, in contrary to predecessor governments had launched systematic restructuring of madrassas education by means of appropriate legislation in the shape of an ordinance in 2001, to lay the foundation of Pakistan Madrasas Education Board and to modernize traditional education. Pakistan Madrasas Education Board was established with aim to ensure quality of education by developing uniformity in curriculum and examination system. Government through another piece of legislation called Voluntarily Registration of Regulation Ordinance had provided frame of regulating madrassas education systematically by banning authorities of madrassas to accept foreign aids and also asked to get registered on voluntary bases with ministry of religious affairs. This sphere of regulation got strengthened after unanimously passed ordinance in 2005 wherein government provided scheme of mandatory registration for all madrassas to run their affairs. It put ban on madrassas authorities to not run their affairs without getting registered under this ordinance. Even, every newly established madrasa had to register under this ordinance. All madrasas were bound to submit their report of educational activities annually besides giving details about their income and expenditures. The main feature of this ordinance was to completely proscribe all madrasas to publish any kind of offensive material which would instigate violence and terrorism within society. Government had taken practical measures in introducing secular subjects to integrate madrassas education with formal education. Government had established three model madrassas in Karachi,

Islamabad and Hyderabad wherein secular subjects like English, Urdu, General Mathematics, computer, economics and Pakistan studies, were to be taught but priority teaching was of prescribed religious contents. This scheme of reforming madrassas education on modern ground had been government sponsored with worth of 5727 million rupees, to modernize 8000 madrassas within the time span of five years. However, government had become successful in transforming only 499 madrasas on the modern pattern. Musharraf's government had recognized madrassas certificate equivalent to formal education certificate, particularly madrassas boards asnad were declared equivalent with the masters in Arabic or Islamic studies to get job in the market. The main cause of partial success was distrust of madrasas representative with the claim that this reform scheme was backed by western governments 'funding rather than Musharraf's government.

The successive government of PPP maintained a pace of reform in madrasa education as a set up by Musharraf's government. However, PPP government went ahead in taking step, by establishing Madrasa Regulatory Authority and madrasa education commission under patronage of Interior Ministry to regulate system of madrasas education which was quite contrary than the previous regime where madrasa education was regulated by ministry of religious affairs. PPP government especially focused on promoting the culture of higher education among madrasas by encouraging them to join higher education institutions.

## CONCLUSION

Since inception, In 1947 Government of Pakistan has been formulating education policies to improve effective of madrasas education by bridging gap existed with formal education. All education policies documents including 1959, 1969, 1970, 1979, 1998 and 2007 formulated by various regimes have clear directions to modernize madrasa education by streamlining it with formal education except education policies of 1947 and 1992 where were not having directions for madrasas education while the education policy of 1972 had maintained status quo about madrasa as to be source of religious education. Despite of having clear directions for reforming madrasa, every regime has shown meager capacity in implementation and could not get suitable results.

Although, Zia regime has implemented plan of modernizing madrasa through founding Madrasa schools for imparting both modern and Islamic education. Zia regime in contrary to founding Madrasa schools has also started using madrassas as factory of producing Mujahid to fight proxy war with soviet by promoting radical idea of holy war. The step of Zia government in using madrasas as factory of mujahids has further deteriorate quality of education within madrasas. However, Musharraf government has taken apposite measures through establishing Pakistan Madrasa Education Board to regulate activities of madrasas by creating uniformity in curriculum and improving standard of examination to ensure quality of education. In pursuance of mainstreaming of madrasas education, government has introduced secular subjects in scheme of study of madrasas in 2004 under Madrasa Reform Ordinance to make madrasas



compatible to public education. Furthermore, government has also laid foundation model madrassas in Islamabad, Karachi and Hyderabad as specialized Islamic institutions wherein both secular subjects and religious knowledge are taught. These model madrasas were established to set as milestone for encouraging other madrassas to follow their scheme of studies. His government had revised societies registration act 1860 under ordinance of 2005 which has put ban on writing, publication and teaching of hated literature to be cause of violence and extremism. The most unique step of Musharraf regime was to provide financial assistance to madrassas along-with provision of teachers to teach secular subjects. The problem of mainstreaming of madrasas students in job market is solved by government by equating madrasa degree masters in Islamic studies and Arabic. Regardless of these concert step government has received mixed response from representatives of madrasas and achieved partial success in reforming 507 madrassas on modern patterns. The main cause of partial success was distrust of madrasas representative with claim that this reform scheme is backed by western governments with funding rather than Musharraf government.

This study concluded that every regime has tried to prescribe apposite policy directions to make madrassas education more effective but could not get result due to gap existed between theory and practice. So, this study recommends having appropriate strategy for implementation with government will to implement with full zeal. It also recommends that religious leaders should be consulted while devising reform policy and must be taken their consent to get trust for making implementation successful.

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