Madrassah Reform: Politics, Policy or Polemics

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CSA, Lahore

Sequence

- Growth of Madaris
- Social and Political Role
- National Reform Strategy for Madaris

(Case Study based Analysis)
Madaris – National Statistics

- 2003 MoE Report
- Quality of Data
  - Urban Vs Rural
  - Karachi (979), ICT (144) and Bhawalpur (240) (900 in 1994)

Growth ?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>1994</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>3153</td>
<td>4969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>1283</td>
<td>1538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>905</td>
<td>2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>1045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6761</td>
<td>10430</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

137 (1947), 244 (1956) --- Growth Rate ??
Dr Mahmud Ghazi’s Data !
APE-Case Study

- Total 187 Villages
- 355 Madaris (39 Registered)
- Only 9% receiving Zakat.
- 28027 students (13332 Deobandi & 11045 Brelvi)
- Boys Schools 117 (21732 Students)
- Girls Schools 69 (11317 Students)
- Many Areas with Similar Trends

Deobandi: 47%
Brelvi: 46%
Alehadith: 4%
Shia: 3%
### Student's Sect Wise

- Brelvi: 287
- Deobandi: 1035
- Ahl-e-Hadith: 11045
- Ahl-e-Tashee: 13332

### Student Proportion Sect Wise

- Brelvi: 43%
- Deobandi: 52%
- Ahl-e-Hadith: 4%
- Ahl-e-Tashee: 1%
ICT-Madaris

- 117 Madaris (70 Deobandi, Brelvis 41, Shia 4, Al Hadith 2)
- 14194 Students (Girls Included)
- 80% on State Land (Green Belts and Protected Areas)
- 15 Registered.
- Post 9/11 Trend ??
- Demographics of Urban Madaris

Sect Wise Growth Rate of Deeni Madaras

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>No. of Madaras</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1975</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-80</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-85</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986-90</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-94</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Brelevi
- Deobandi
- Ahl-e-Hadis
- Ahl-e-Tashee
Madaris Political and Social Role

- Madrassahs: factional, religious, political and cultural conflict.
- Madrassah education creates barriers to modern knowledge, stifling creativity and breeding intolerance?

Statistical Profile of Sectarian Terrorists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Shia</th>
<th>Sunni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Average age 20-30 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None less than 20 years</td>
<td>14% less than 20 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>39% Matric &amp; below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30% illiterate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0% from Madrassas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Weapons Training</td>
<td>100% in Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5% in Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>95% abroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Motivation</td>
<td>66% by speeches / literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26% reaction to SSP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>93% by speeches / literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect</td>
<td>Total Madaras</td>
<td>Involved in Sectarianism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deobandi</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brailvi</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahl-e-Hadis</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahl-e-Tashi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>266</strong></td>
<td><strong>134</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fayyaz Hussain’s Research on Jamia Ashrafia in 1994,
- 50% joined the madrassa for economic
- 41 percent for social reasons, and only about six percent for religious pursuit.
- About three percent said they joined the madrassas in search of education

Tariq Rehman’s Study (2003)
- 76.6 % poor students, 60% teachers from same background.
- Attitudinal study—comparison.

IPS Study?
Bangladesh Research
Madrassah, Education and Politics

- MMA, 60 MNAs, Senators, 19 Ministers in Baluchistan.
- Some of Madrassah Managers are Ministers.
- Madrassah Graduates and Education department??
- Politically Possible Policy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th>Number of Affiliated Madrassahs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>JUI(F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>JUI(S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jamiat Ahl-e-Hadith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>SSP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>TJP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Jamaat-i- Islami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Model Madrasah's or The Madrassah Muddle

- MMA, LFO and Madrassah
- MoE, Ministry of Religious Affairs, MoI, PMEB, etc.
- Pakistan Madrasah Education Board (PMEB) 2001.
  - 449 affiliations so far.
- Deeni Madaris (Voluntary Registration and Regulation) Ordinance--the proposed law.
- Madrasa Reform Project (MRP).

Are More Madaris Desirable?

- “Cradle of peace”
- “Largest NGO in the World”.
- “Community owned” indigenous, welfare institutions.
- “Education of the Holy Warrior”
- “Schools of Hate”
- “Jihad International Inc”
Mahaz or Mafia

- Ittehad Tanzeematul Madaris-i-Deenya
  (Alliance of the Organisations of the Religious Schools)
- Deeni Madaris Mahaz
- Anjuman –e-Defahe- Deeni Madaris
- Defah-e-Deeni Madaris Conferences

Madrassah Mainstreaming ---
Fuel for Fire

- Rs 5.7 Billion
- Five years project
- 8000 Madaris
  - 4000 primary, 3000 Secondary and 1000 Intermediate level Madaris
- 32000 teachers will be recruited on contract.
- Provision of teachers, furniture, books, equipments, sports.
- Principle of non interference in Madaris. (one time grant)
- Registration ?
- Role of Provincial Governments.
Management and Coordination

- FPIU
- Provincial PMUs
- Funds released to DoE.
- Education Foundations role?
- NSC, Provincial NSC
- Role of Wifaq
- Selection of teacher by local committee:
  - Rep of ED, Wifaq, and Concerned Madrassah.
- M & E Committee
- Audit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Salary</th>
<th>Unit Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Matric - PTC</td>
<td>Rs 3000</td>
<td>0.502 M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>F.A/FSc-CT</td>
<td>Rs 4000</td>
<td>0.781 M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>B.A/BSc-B.Ed</td>
<td>Rs 5000</td>
<td>0.781 M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>M.A/MScM. Ed</td>
<td>Rs 5000</td>
<td>1.280 M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Challenges

- Weak project management
- No legal framework
- Do whatever you are doing—at State expense.
- Selection Committee.
- Madaris will park existing teachers in this project.
- Windfall for Baluchistan and NWFP ruling parties.

Thank You