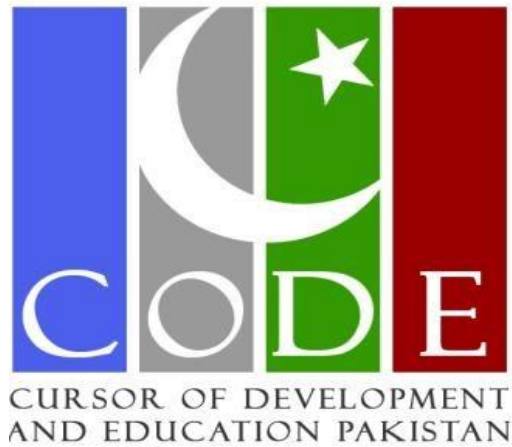


Engaging Madrassahs in Pakistan



March 2019

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List of Acronyms

ADRs	Alternative dispute resolution mechanisms
AJK	Azad Jammu and Kashmir
CDA	Capital Development Authority
CODE	Cursor of Development and Education
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FDE	Federal Directorate of Education
GB	Gilgit-Baltistan
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HEC	Higher Education Commission
IIU	International Islamic University
IRCRA	International Research Council for Religious Affairs
ITMP	<i>Ittehad-i-Tanzimat-i-Madaris</i> Pakistan
JI	Jamaat Islami
JUI-F	Jamiat Ulema Islam-Fazl ur Rehman
JUI-S	Jamiat Ulema Islam-Sami ul Haq
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
M.A.	Masters of Arts
MMA	Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal
MNA	Member of National Assembly
MRO	Madrassah Registration Ordinance
NACTA	National Counter Terrorism Authority
NAP	National Action Plan
NISP	National Internal Security Policy
NCHD	National Commission for Human Development
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NISP	National Internal Security Policy
NUML	National University of Modern Languages
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PML	Pakistan Muslim League

PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf
RDDC	Royal Danish Defense College
YEP	Youth Empowerment Programme

Executive Summary

While the government has certain misgivings about the madrassah education system in Pakistan, their role as institutions of religious learning in the society can partly be attributed to the deficiencies of the public education system in the country. Pakistan is spending a smaller percentage of its GDP on education than several other countries in the same national income bracket. This has translated into high prevalence of out-of-school children and, at times, an undesirable quality of education in the public educational institutions. The relatively well-off parents are able to choose private educational institutions over the public ones to ensure quality education for their children. Some of the underprivileged parents, on the other hand, who cannot afford the fees of private educational institutions send at least one of their children to a madrassah for education. Although religious motivations are involved, economic factors considerably influence such decisions.

Notwithstanding the educational role of the madrassahs in the society of Pakistan, the government's apprehensions regarding madrassah education are not without grounds. One, despite provision of free education, boarding, lodging, clothing, and stipends to their needy students, madrassahs are primarily institutions for religious learning with very little relevance to the modern day job market. Two, the madrassah education system in Pakistan is divided along sectarian lines. Five madrassah education boards or *Wafaqs* subscribe to five different religious sects/schools of thought prevalent in Pakistan. Almost all the madrassahs in the country are affiliated with one of the five *Wafaqs*, thus, exclusively subscribing to one of the sects/schools of thought. Such exclusivity is considered a source of extremism by government functionaries and independent analysts alike. Three, there have been occasions in the past where madrassah administrations and students were openly seen as supporting the cause of anti-state terrorist elements. Moreover, several senior-level terrorists did obtain some of their education from a madrassah at one point in their lives or the other.

Government's perceived association of madrassahs with religious extremism and terrorism has had practical ramification for the madrassah education system in Pakistan. The mention of madrassahs in national security documents like the National Action Plan (NAP) and the two successive National Internal Security Policies (NISPs) has prompted police raids against madrassahs following terrorist attacks or on suspicions of their links with terrorist organizations. The leadership of madrassahs, as well as religious political parties, have vehemently opposed the raids and have invariably claimed that madrassahs are education institutions and should, therefore, be treated that way by the government.

The history of government's efforts at regulating the madrassahs has been fraught with failures and missed opportunities, primarily because of the financial independence of the

madrassahs from the government and their growing social clout in the society. On the one hand, the independence of madrassahs from the government's financial support and oversight has considerably reduced the government's leverage on the madrassahs. On the other hand, a considerable increase in their sociopolitical power over the years has enabled madrassah leadership to strongly resist any attempts on the part of the government aimed at their regulation. The limited success of the government in the field of madrassah regulation, such as the registration of madrassahs under the Madrassahs Registration Ordinance (MRO), could be attributed to negotiated settlements with madrassah leadership rather than decisive legal course.

Reforming madrassah education through inclusion of contemporary subjects like English, science, and math into madrassah curricula is also at a standstill for the past several years. The madrassah leadership has long been demanding the grant of the status of Education Boards (like the ones in the mainstream public sector for the madrassah five *Wafaqs*) in return for the inclusion of such subjects into their curricula. Grant of this status would enable them to issue Secondary School Certificates and Higher Secondary School Certificates to their students that would be considered equivalent to the same certificates awarded by the other government-recognized education boards. Lack of transparency with regard to the religious curriculum and pedagogy at madrassahs as well as with regard to the representation of the madrassah leadership negotiating with the government on their behalf has not, however, been taken into account by the government in its negotiations for such a grand bargain.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned challenges, the madrassah landscape of the country cannot be left the way it is. Our research—involving more than 30 interviews with the top leadership of madrassahs as well as five consultative dialogues featuring intensive deliberations—reveals that the madrassah administrators, students, and faculties aspire to play a greater role in the social fabric of the Pakistani society than merely as Imams of mosques or teachers of Islamic studies in madrassahs or elsewhere. They are not only willing to introduce contemporary subjects to their curricula but also to reform their religious curriculum, albeit with the caveat that the government or other concerned actors encourage rather than force them to do it. The madrassah administrators want the government and even non-government entities to assist them in providing language, computer, and vocational trainings to their students. Some of them are open to the learning of modern philosophy, social sciences, and research methodology in their institutions. Certain segments of madrassah administrators are quite open to promoting inter-sectarian interaction, others not so much; the latter being a serious challenge in the way of mainstreaming. Whereas unreconciled differences persist between the ITMP and the government on the way forward for madrassah regulation and reform, there is a considerable room for constructively engaging the madrassahs at the non-governmental level.

On the basis of our findings in this report, we recommend to the government to prioritize madrassah reform by taking the madrassah representatives on board and at the same time encouraging them to promote greater transparency in their processes for representation as intermediaries with the government. We further recommend to the government to link progress on curriculum reform and equivalence with promotion of inter-sectarian interaction and harmony in madrassahs. The Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) is the most appropriate forum to propose recommendations for the reform of the religious curriculum. The government also needs to support nationwide trainings for madrassah administrations and teachers. While the madrassah administrator trainings should focus on auditable accounting and the legal regime for educational institutions in Pakistan, the trainings for teachers need to focus on enhancing their pedagogical skills in line with the demands of the modern-day realities.

We recommend the following to the non-government entities aspiring to work for the welfare of the madrassahs:

- Assist madrassah administrations in improving management through trainings on maintenance of auditable accounts and modern management methods.
- Provide trainings to madrassah teachers according to the modern-day educational needs of the students.
- Provide trainings to madrassah students on learning languages, especially English, as well as the use of computers.
- Provide contemporary education courses to madrassah students on the madrassah campuses.
- Train madrassah students in contemporary research methodology.
- Train madrassah students in creative journalism, composing, and graphic designing.
- Provide vocational skills training to interested madrassah students, such as electrician, plumbing, tailoring, cellphone repairing, etc.
- Promote healthy extra-curricular activities in madrassahs such as inter-madrassah/university-madrassah sports and debating competitions, etc.
- Provide uniforms, books, and medical facilities and health-related trainings in madrassahs.
- Provide space to madrassah students and faculties to have inter-sectarian interaction and dialogue in a controlled atmosphere in prior consultation with the concerned madrassah administrations.
- Provide awareness trainings to the business communities, which are the primary individual donors of madrassahs, on safe charity and the needs of madrassah reform.
- Provide trainings to madrassah students in improving their research skills as per modern day requirements.

- Implement micro-level interventions in prior consultation with the concerned madrassahs.
- Get the macro-level interventions for the welfare of madrassah approved from the respective *Wafaq* leadership.
- Respect the cultural norms of the madrassahs while designing and implementing madrassah-related interventions.
- Bring the madrassahs located in peripheral geographical locations under the purview of your interventions.

Introduction

Madrassahs (religious seminaries) in Pakistan have historically served as centres of learning for Islamic scholars and clerics. They are also welfare institutes, providing food, accommodation, religious education, and a possible livelihood to thousands of destitute youth and adolescents who cannot afford formal education. The unique philanthropic role of madrassahs in Pakistan can be traced to the intrinsic linkages between charity and education in Islam, allowing madrassahs to become socially embedded and operate with relative autonomy through community donations.¹ Recent geo-political and socio-economic developments have prompted a reevaluation of the role of madrassahs in the society, politics, and economy of Pakistan. In this regard, while Madrassahs integration in the on-going national socio-economic development processes has gained considerable ascendancy in policy circles, practical and concerted efforts are needed to holistically engage and integrate the hitherto marginalized and vulnerable more than 3.5 million seminary students (in 35,000 madrassahs² across the country) as equal and vibrant youth of Pakistan.

The government's efforts at mainstreaming of madrassahs can be broadly classified into regulation and reform. While there has been some progress on regulation in the form of registration of madrassahs, reform has proved to be a non-starter so far. There is a great deal of divergence between the aspirations of the government for madrassahs and what the leadership of madrassahs sees as its welfare. The madrassahs are independent institutions governed by their own independent Boards or *Wafaqs*. Although the *Wafaqs* are divided along sectarian lines, they coordinate their negotiations with the government through their umbrella organization called the *Ittehad-i-Tanzimat-i-Madaris-i-Pakistan* (ITMP).³ ITMP plays the role of an intermediary between the administrations of the thousands of madrassahs in Pakistan and the government.

The history of the government's efforts at madrassah reform indicates that involving the madrassah leadership in the consultative process leading to reform is the key to achieving a modicum of success. It is, however, easier said than done because of the divergence in priorities of the two sides and lack of government leverage on madrassahs owing to their financial

¹ Sajjad, M.W. (2014) 'Madrassas in Pakistan: Thinking beyond Terrorism Based Reforms' (source: http://issi.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/1299648777_44752615.pdf).

² 'Report says over 35,000 madrassahs operating in Pakistan', Pakistan Today, July 31, 2015.

³ The ITMP, formerly known as ITMD, is the umbrella organization of the five *Wafaqs* (religious degree awarding institutions) representing five different Islamic schools of thought of the country. The five *Wafaqs* are *Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia* (Deobandi), *Tanzeemul Madaris* Pakistan (Barelvi), *Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia* (Salafi), *Wafaqul Madaris al-Shia* (Shia), and *Rabta al-Madaris* Pakistan (Jamaat Islami). *Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia* is the largest among all of these controlling about 70 percent of the total madrasahs in the country.

independence from the government. While the government has been getting feedback from the ITMP as representatives of madrassahs on the concerns and aspirations of the administrators of madrassahs, certain questions about effectively engaging madrassah youth remain unanswered.

The Context

The State of Education in Pakistan and Madrassahs

The Government of Pakistan spent 2.2 percent of its GDP on education in fiscal year 2016-17.⁴ The percentage of GDP spent on education is considered inadequate for meeting the education needs of the children of the country.⁵ According to the Economic Survey 2017-18 of the Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan, there were a total of 267,700 mainstream education institutions in the country with an estimated total enrolment of 5,0425,900 students.⁶ Out of these mainstream education institutions, 173,700 or around 65 percent were primary schools and less than one percent were degree-awarding institutions of higher education.⁷ Not only are the numbers of schools inadequate but they also lack basic facilities. According to a 2014 report, around half of the total schools in Pakistan were without electricity or satisfactory building condition, while over 40 percent were without a toilet or provision of clean drinking water.⁸ It is estimated that the total number of out-of-school children in Pakistan is 25 million.⁹

This is the national educational landscape, which has provided madrassahs with an opportunity to create an educational niche for themselves, i.e., provide religious education primarily to the most impoverished alongside provision of food, boarding, and lodging. A recent report published in *Dawn* estimated the total number of madrassahs in the country at 38,000, with a total of around 3.5 million students.¹⁰ The figures indicate that the madrassahs fill an education gap left by the mainstream education system of Pakistan. A 2010 report of the Brookings Institution reached more or less the same conclusion. It argued that the Government of Pakistan was failing to keep up with the demands of education in the country and that the madrassah/mainstream dichotomy was not the only such dichotomy in the education system of Pakistan.¹¹ A more recent study on madrassahs produced in 2018 by the Royal Danish Defense College (RDDC) calls for prioritization of public sector education for bringing about a balance

⁴ *Economic Survey 2017-18*, Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan, p.157.

⁵ Alif Ailaan, *25 Million Broken Promises: The Crisis of Pakistan's Out-of-School Children* (Islamabad: Alif Ailaan, 2014).

⁶ *Economic Survey 2017-18*, Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan, 155.

⁷ *Economic Survey 2017-18*, Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan, 155.

⁸ Alif Ailaan, *25 Million Broken Promises: The Crisis of Pakistan's Out-of-School Children* (Islamabad: Alif Ailaan, 2014).

⁹ Editorial, "Out of School," *Dawn*, November 14, 2018.

¹⁰ "Seminaries express concern over slow registration," *Dawn*, April 11, 2018.

¹¹ Rebecca Winthrop and Corinne Graff, "Beyond Madrasas: Assessing the Links between Education and Militancy in Pakistan," *Center for Universal Education Working Paper 2* (New York, Brookings, June 2010).

between madrassah and mainstream education in Pakistan.¹² The RDDC study also reveals that generally low-income families send their children to madrassahs, where economic concerns do play a role in the parents' decision to send some of their children to a madrassah for studies.¹³ Moreover, the report suggests that parents who send some of their children to madrassahs prioritize the two education systems equally because they send their children to both madrassahs and public schools almost equally.¹⁴ The leadership of madrassahs also likes to emphasize the status of madrassahs as filling a gap in the educational system of the country.¹⁵

Another worth-pondering reality of Pakistan's educational landscape, however, is that a majority of out-of-school children are girls. A recent Human Rights Watch report suggests that only 13 percent of girls are still in school by the time they reach the ninth grade.¹⁶ These girls generally fall outside the purview of madrassah education as well because of a very limited number of female madrassahs among the total. A large number of boys are studying in madrassahs at any given time in Pakistan, though, which has led to some worrisome educational dichotomies and challenges for national cohesion and harmony in Pakistan. The reason is that madrassah education is not only different from the mainstream educational landscape of the country it is also internally divided along sectarian lines. Moreover, it has also been perceived as associated with the rising incidents of terrorism in the country lately.

Madrassahs, Sectarianism, and Extremism

Although the madrassahs provide free education, boarding and lodging, and even clothes and stipends to their needy students, they are primarily institutions for religious education. They have their roots in the eleventh century Fatimid Egypt and were introduced in South Asia during Muslim rule.¹⁷ Darul Uloom Deoband (est.1867)—which was the first of its kind

¹² David Vestenskov (ed.), *The Role of Madrasas: Assessing Parental Choice, Financial Pipelines and Recent Developments in Religious Education in Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Denmark: Royal Danish Defence College, 2018), 124.

¹³ David Vestenskov (ed.), *The Role of Madrasas: Assessing Parental Choice, Financial Pipelines and Recent Developments in Religious Education in Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Denmark: Royal Danish Defence College, 2018), 32-37.

¹⁴ David Vestenskov (ed.), *The Role of Madrasas: Assessing Parental Choice, Financial Pipelines and Recent Developments in Religious Education in Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Denmark: Royal Danish Defence College, 2018), 40-44.

¹⁵ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 18, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 23, 2018.

¹⁶ Editorial, "Out of School," *Dawn*, November 14, 2018.

¹⁷ David Vestenskov (ed.), *The Role of Madrasas: Assessing Parental Choice, Financial Pipelines and Recent Developments in Religious Education in Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Denmark: Royal Danish Defence College, 2018), 19.

initiative to teach a consolidated religious curriculum under one roof and which became a model for madrassahs established subsequently in the subcontinent—was inspired by the British education system. It was aimed at modernizing the Islamic education system on *modern* lines.¹⁸ Notwithstanding its emulation of certain Western education concepts like uniform curricula, textbooks, and bringing teachers of various inter-related disciplines under one roof for the benefit of the students, the madrassah education is primarily religious. On top of that, the madrassah education system in Pakistan is also organized along sectarian lines. The following five prominent sects and schools of Islamic thought in Pakistan have their own degree-awarding institutions of religious education called *Wafaqs*:

1. Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Deobandi
2. Tanzeemul Madaris Pakistan Bareilvi
3. Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia Salafi
4. Wafaqul Madaris al-Shia Shia Shia
5. Rabta al-Madaris Pakistan Jamaat Islami

Each *Wafaq* conducts the examinations of its affiliated madrassahs and awards degrees to them besides exercising some influence on the day-to-day administration of its affiliated madrassahs by issuing directives to them from time to time. The directives of the *Wafaqs* are not necessarily binding for the madrassahs but madrassah administration do accord respect to the *Wafaqs*. The top leadership of all these *Wafaqs* is connected with each other under an umbrella organization of all the five *Wafaqs* called Ittehad-i-Tanzimat-i-Madaris Pakistan (ITMP), which works for coordinating madrassah efforts in response to government's policies toward them. There is, however, hardly any meaningful institutionalized positive interaction between the students and faculties of various *Wafaqs*.

The madrassah education system and its curriculum has, therefore, come under a considerable amount of scrutiny over the past few years. The sectarian-based education of madrassahs is termed as a source of extremism in the country. The Red Mosque episode in Islamabad in mid-2007—in which madrassah students were seen as engaged in religious vigilantism in the capital and which ended in a military operation against them leading to scores of deaths—was one such example. The aftermath of the Red Mosque episode in the form of a dramatic spike in terrorist attacks across the country, some of which were claimed by the

¹⁸ For details, see Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic Contestations: Essays on Muslims in India and Pakistan* (London: Oxford University Press, 2004).

terrorists as revenge of the Red Mosque, further strengthened the perception about madrassahs being associated with the wave of terrorism across the country.¹⁹

Some of the senior commanders of militant organizations, such as Baitullah Mahsud, Hakimullah Mahsud, Wali-ur-Rehman, Hafiz Gul Bahadur, Qari Fazlullah, Qari Hussain, and several others were educated in madrassahs at some point in their lives.²⁰ Moreover, some high profile terrorist attacks in Pakistan were directly linked to madrassahs. A police report in April 2014 claimed that the terrorists were getting active support from the madrassahs in Islamabad for launching terrorist attacks.²¹ Only a few days later, Jamia Hafsa named its library after Osama Bin Laden.²² There is also a strong perception among the civil society about the link of madrassahs with terrorism in the country. Dr. Fouzia Saeed, the Executive Director of an Islamabad-based not-for-profit organization Mehargarh once went to the extent of stating that every suicide bomber was a product of the madrassah.²³ Author and commentator Amir Rana who also heads a think tank argues that the madrassah leaders use the madrassah system to seek political, moral, and economic support for becoming “stakeholders in the country’s power structure.”²⁴ These are some of the reasons madrassahs have come under discussion and scrutiny at the official level in Pakistan in connection with terrorism and extremism in the country.

One of the points in the 20-point National Action Plan (NAP)—announced as a consensus document of all parliamentary political parties on December 25, 2014, in response to the terrorist attack on Army Public School in Peshawar on December 16, 2014—is about registration of madrassahs and review of rules and laws related to them. With all the other points in the document relating to countering terrorism and militancy, inclusion of madrasah reform into a counter-terrorism narrative well-illustrates the political perception regarding madrassahs in Pakistan. Even the National Internal Security Policy (NISP) 2014-18, announced in February 2014, calls for mainstreaming of madrasahs. The document, quite importantly, also calls for Integration of “the mosques and the madrassas in the national and provincial educational

¹⁹ For details, see Zahid Hussain, *The Scorpion’s Tail: The Relentless Rise of Islamic Militants in Pakistan* (New York: Free Press, 2010).

²⁰ “Long list of terrorists belonging to Madaris,” *The News*, January 7, 2015.

²¹ Munawer Azeem, “TTP getting active support from seminaries in twin cities: report,” *Dawn*, April 7, 2014; “Seminaries to help Taliban attack Islamabad, say police,” *The News*, April 12, 2014; “Taliban plot with seminaries to assault Islamabad: Report,” *The Nation*, April 12, 2014.

²² “Osama bin Laden library for religious school,” *The News*, April 18, 2014; “Library named after Osama,” *Dawn*, April 18, 2014.

²³ Rasheed Khalid, “Every suicide bomber hails from a Madrassa,” *The News*, February 15, 2010.

²⁴ Muhammad Amir Rana, “Madressah reform difficulty,” *Dawn*, April 20, 2014.

establishment by mapping and thereafter mainstreaming the existing and new madrassas and private sector educational institutions.”²⁵ The more recent 2018-23 version of the NISP, announced by the outgoing government on its last day in office on May 31, 2018, also includes sections on madrassah and mosque reforms.²⁶ The NISP 2018-23 document, however, puts a greater emphasis on madrassah reform as being a part of the overall education reform in the country.²⁷

Such linkage of madrassahs with the needs of the internal security of the country in high-level policy documents have had practical ramifications for madrassahs. Police in all provinces of the country has conducted raids against madrassahs following terrorist attacks or on suspicions of their links with terrorist organizations. The leadership of madrassahs, as well as religious political parties, have vehemently opposed the raids and have invariably claimed that madrassahs are educational institutions like other such institutions in the country and should, therefore, be treated that way by the government. The madrassah leadership, as well as the leadership of religious political parties, strongly opposed the NISP 2014-18.²⁸ They were also very vocal in their criticism of singling out madrassahs in NAP.²⁹

The RDDC, in its 2018 report, has come up with some pertinent recommendations for improving government leverage on madrassahs in Pakistan. It underscores the importance of gaining the trust of madrassah administrations through provision of financial and technical support to them and to create employment opportunities for the madrassah graduates.³⁰ It further suggests facilitation of madrassahs in ensuring financial transparency and accountability and initiating curriculum reform.³¹ Government and even non-government support in improving

²⁵ National Internal Security Policy 2014-18, *Ministry of Interior, Government of Pakistan*, para 36.

²⁶ National Internal Security Policy 2018-23, *Ministry of Interior, Government of Pakistan*, 48-49.

²⁷ National Internal Security Policy 2018-23, *Ministry of Interior, Government of Pakistan*

²⁸ “Rallies planned to ‘save madressahs’,” *Dawn*, March 10, 2014; “In harmony: Govt proposes code of conduct between sects,” *The Express Tribune*, March 10, 2014; Javaid-ur-Rahman, “Religious parties warn of protest,” *The Nation*, March 11, 2014; “Clerics stand united: Wafaq takes dim view of security policy,” *The Express Tribune*, March 18, 2014; “Seminaries being demonised on foreign agenda,” *The Nation*, March 19, 2014; “Clerics to fully defend if govt acts against seminaries,” *The News*, March 24, 2014.

²⁹ Riazul Haq, “Reforms: Jalandhri blasts govt ‘for singling out’ madrassas,” *The Express Tribune*, December 31, 2014; “Ulema decry ‘vilification drive’ against seminaries,” *Dawn*, January 4, 2015.

³⁰ David Vestenskov (ed.), *The Role of Madrasas: Assessing Parental Choice, Financial Pipelines and Recent Developments in Religious Education in Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Denmark: Royal Danish Defence College, 2018), 125.

³¹ David Vestenskov (ed.), *The Role of Madrasas: Assessing Parental Choice, Financial Pipelines and Recent Developments in Religious Education in Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Denmark: Royal Danish Defence College, 2018), 126.

financial transparency and curriculum reform can both gain traction with madrassah leadership (for an in depth discussion on the subject, please see subsequent sections of this report).

Financial and Operational Independence of Madrassahs from Government Regulation

The history of government's efforts at reforming or regulating the madrassahs shows that the government is unable to achieve much without the cooperation of the leadership of the ITMP. This is because the government has very little financial leverage on the madrassahs. Most of the madrassahs in Pakistan exercise complete autonomy from government's financial assistance. Pakistan's federal and provincial governments have at times earmarked budgets for madrassahs to establish some sort of influence on some of them. The government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), according to its financial records, disbursed Rs.14.79 million to 263 madrassahs in fiscal years 2007-08 and 2008-09.³² In the fiscal year 2007-08, the provincial government of Punjab transferred Rs.81.7 million to 700 madrassahs in the province.³³ In June 2012, the Punjab Zakat Council approved Rs.98.77 million for scholarships to needy students in madrassahs.³⁴ When the provincial government of KP allocated Rs.300 million for Jamia Haqqania in fiscal year 2016-17, the madrassah of the recently assassinated religious leader Maulana Sami ul Haq, it came under a lot of criticism.³⁵ Responding to the criticism, the then head of Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf (PTI) and now the Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan said that the over 2 million students studying in madrassahs had a right on government's funds.³⁶

The limited financial support of madrassahs on the part of the government has, on several occasions, led to policy-level questioning of the sources of madrassahs funds, especially if any of them were coming from abroad. In a report submitted to the National Assembly in February 2012, however, the Interior Ministry reported that the madrassahs in KP had received Rs.30.46 million as institutional donations from abroad in five years.³⁷ In April 2014, the then Minister of State for Interior Mr. Balighur Rehman informed the Senate that 15 madrassahs had received Rs.258 million from abroad in the last one year.³⁸ In a written reply to the question of a Senator in 2015, the Interior Ministry reported that around 80 madrassahs in Pakistan, none of

³² Zulfiqar Ali, "Only 263 seminaries get grants from govt," *Dawn*, October 17, 2010.

³³ Khalid Hasnain, "Rs81.7m grant released for seminaries," *Dawn*, October 26, 2010.

³⁴ "Rs 98.77m for Madarassas," *The News*, June 17, 2012.

³⁵ Khalid Kheshgi, "Rs300m allocated for madrassa in KP budget, assembly told," *The News*, June 17, 2016; Asim Yasin, "Rs300m funding to KP seminary legitimises Taliban: Zardari," *The News*, June 27, 2016; and "KP government defends Rs300m Haqqania fund," *The News*, June 22, 2016.

³⁶ Riaz Khan Daudzai, "Over 2 million studying in madrassas have right over govt funds: Imran," *The News*, June 27, 2016.

³⁷ "Seminaries in KP collected over Rs30m from abroad," *Dawn*, February 14, 2012.

³⁸ "Pakistani seminaries received Rs258m funds from foreign countries," *Pakistan Today*, April 25, 2014.

them from Punjab, had received up to Rs.300 million from abroad in fiscal year 2013-14.³⁹ After initial denials, the provincial government of Punjab disclosed in February 2015 that its investigations had revealed that close to 1,000 of the total 12,000 madrassahs operating in the province were receiving “hundreds of millions of rupees from various countries.”⁴⁰ No further details of those hundreds of millions of Rupees coming from abroad were shared with public, though. Instead, former Interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan responded in writing to a question raised by a senator in the following words: “Some madressahs are receiving financial support from Muslim countries. However, it is often difficult to trace the transaction of such money.”⁴¹

There is no denying the fact, however, that it is relatively easier for the Government of Pakistan to track foreign funds channeled into the madrassah system of Pakistan than tracking their domestic sources of funds involving Pakistani citizens. A recent RDDC study reveals that a major portion of funds of madrassahs comes from internal sources, including obligatory religious donations such as *Zakat*,⁴² *Ushr*,⁴³ *Khums*, *Fitrana*,⁴⁴ hides of sacrificed animals during *Eid al-Adha*,⁴⁵ as well as non-obligatory religious donations such as *Sadqa*,⁴⁶ donations boxes in shops and markets, and collection of charity during Friday prayers.⁴⁷ The problem of tracking the domestic donations to madrassahs is compounded by the fact that Islamic teachings encourage discreet charity. It is reported that Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) once said that among the seven kinds of persons that Allah will shade on the Day of Judgement will be “...A man who gives in charity and hides it, such that his left hand does not know what his right hand

³⁹ Zahid Gishkori, “Year 2013-14: 80 seminaries received Rs300m in foreign aid,” *The Express Tribune*, January 29, 2015.

⁴⁰ Zahid Gishkori, “Punjab police disclosure: 1,000 madrassas foreign-funded,” *The Express Tribune*, February 17, 2015.

⁴¹ “It’s difficult to trace fund transactions to seminaries,” says Nisar, *Dawn*, January 7, 2015.

⁴² The annual 2.5 percent obligatory donation to the poor from one’s cumulative wealth in the concerned year.

⁴³ One-tenth obligatory donation to the poor from one’s agricultural produce.

⁴⁴ Annual obligatory donation to the poor at the end of the Holy month of Ramadan, which is in the form of a certain amount of food or a cash amount equivalent to it.

⁴⁵ According to Islamic jurisprudence a person sacrificing an animal during *Eid al-Adha* cannot sell its hide for personal gain, so the hide is either given in charity to the poor or the amount received in lieu of it is donated to the poor.

⁴⁶ Voluntary charity.

⁴⁷ David Vestenskov (ed.), *The Role of Madrasas: Assessing Parental Choice, Financial Pipelines and Recent Developments in Religious Education in Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Denmark: Royal Danish Defence College, 2018), 61-72.

gives in charity; and a man who remembered Allah in private and so his eyes shed tears.”⁴⁸ A survey on the sources of finances of the madrassahs conducted by the Government of Pakistan in 2014, through the grassroots officials of the Land Revenue Agency, yielded similar results. It showed that the madrassahs received funding from various sources, including contributions from their graduates, local influential figures, as well as donations from abroad.⁴⁹

Such an independence from government’s financial support as well as financial oversight considerably reduces the government’s leverage on the madrassahs. The lack of government’s leverage on madrassahs is further compounded by the accumulated clout of the religious community in Pakistan as a result of their long history as institutions of learning in the country having produced millions of graduates over the years. For instance, some madrassah graduates are now powerful political figures like the head of his own faction of Jamiat Ulema Islam (JUI-F) Maulana Fazlur Rehman and the recently assassinated leader of his separate faction of Jamiat Ulema Islam (JUI-S) Maulana Sami ul Haq. Therefore, whenever there has been any unilateral attempt on the part of the government to regulate or reform madrassahs, it has not only been opposed by ITMP but also religious political parties headed by madrassah graduates.

The weakness of the government in connection with imposing a regulatory framework on the madrassahs is exemplified by the level of its limitations with respect to the illegalities committed by madrassahs in the federal capital Islamabad. For instance, as of 2011, there were 37 unregistered madrassahs in the federal capital.⁵⁰ Quite bizarrely, in November the same year, the Housing Ministry submitted to the National Assembly that 32 government houses had been illegally allotted to madrassahs in the federal capital.⁵¹ An audit report of the Capital Development Authority (CDA) for the fiscal year 2012-2013 showed that 305 mosques and madrassahs were illegally constructed on government land in various sectors of Islamabad resulting in a total loss of over Rs.1.1 billion to the national exchequer. The report further noted that 69 of them had, on average, encroached upon 100 square yards of land each.⁵² The situation on the various illegalities committed by madrassah administrations in the federal capital has not changed much since then. An early 2017 government survey revealed that 374 madrassahs in the federal capital, several of them unregistered, outnumbered the total number of schools in the

⁴⁸ Abu Hurairah and collected in Saheeh al-Bukhari (English trans.) Vol.1, No.629, 356, and Saheeh Muslim (English trans.) Vol.2, No.2248, 493,

⁴⁹ “Madrassas have numerous funding sources,” *The News*, January 8, 2015.

⁵⁰ Syed Danish Hussain, “37 unregistered seminaries functional in Islamabad,” *Dawn*, April 24, 2011.

⁵¹ Syed Irfan Raza, “32 govt houses allotted to seminaries,” *Dawn*, November 4, 2011.

⁵² Malik Asad, “Illegal mosques, madressahs caused Rs1.1 billion loss,” *Dawn*, January 29, 2015.

capital at 348.⁵³ In March 2017, the government claimed that as much as 76 percent of madrassahs were housed in unauthorized buildings.⁵⁴ It is alarming that the government has largely been unable to do much about the illegalities committed by the madrassah administrations in the federal capital despite the Red Mosque fiasco of July 2006.

Reforming the Madrassahs

The aforementioned madrassah scenario in the federal capital indicates that the law enforcement agencies' knee-jerk reactions to terrorist attacks in the form of raids of madrassahs have proved counter-productive. It also underscores the importance of taking the madrassah leadership of the five *Wafaqs* on board for the introduction of any regulation or reform of madrassahs. The first example of that was seen in the introduction of the Societies' Registration (Second Amendment) Ordinance—commonly known as the Madrassahs Registration Ordinance (MRO)—in December 2005, after consultation with the ITMP leadership. The MRO resulted in resumption of the registration of madrassahs, which was banned in the 1990s after registration of about 6,000 madrassahs. Since the ITMP leadership was taken on board on the initiative, the effort was quite successful with quadrupling of the number of registered madrassahs in the country. The MRO was more successful than some of the other initiatives of the government such as the Madrassahs Reform Project (2002-07) under the Ministry of Education or the Pakistan Madrassahs Education Board under the Ministry of Religious Affairs for the very reason that the ITMP leadership was taken on board on it.

Unfortunately, the progress made under the MRO could not be capitalized on under the two subsequent governments led by Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N). The issue of madrassah reform remained on the backburner of national priorities in the subsequent government of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) from 2008 to 2013.

As a result of the terrorist attack on the Army Public School in Peshawar on December 16, 2014, however, there was a renewed focus on madrassahs once again under the National Action Plan (NAP). In September 2015, the National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) and the ITMP agreed on a new madrassah registration form to improve the registration process.⁵⁵ Since the registration under the new form was assigned to the provincial governments, however, there has been little progress on registration in the past three years.⁵⁶ In the

⁵³ Kashif Abbasi, "Religious seminaries outnumber schools in Islamabad," *Dawn*, March 18, 2017.

⁵⁴ Kashif Abbasi, "76pc of seminary buildings in capital unauthorised," *Dawn*, March 21, 2017.

⁵⁵ See <https://nacta.gov.pk/madaris-reforms/>

⁵⁶ Qadeer Tanoli, "Provinces 'miserably' fail to register madrassas," *The Express Tribune*, August 30, 2018.

meanwhile, the Punjab and Sindh police claimed to have successfully “geotagged” all madrassahs in the two provinces.⁵⁷ Some observers argue, however, that no rocket science involved in knowing the locations of madrassahs buildings and that geotagging is not anything special.⁵⁸ In 2015, the government also mulled the creation of an Islamic Education Commission for regulating the education of madrassahs but it hasn’t seen the light of the day yet.⁵⁹ In December 2017, Pakistan’s army chief Gen. Qamar Javed Bajwa also commented on the need of madrassah reform in the country, calling the graduates of the madrassahs unfit for the modern world.⁶⁰ A little over a month later, the then National Security Advisor Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Nasser Khan Janjua also echoed similar sentiments and called for absorbing madrassah students into mainstream education system.⁶¹ Registration process of madrassahs has been slow ever since.⁶²

Another longstanding issue besides registration of the madrassahs has been the inclusion of contemporary subjects like English, science, and math into madrassah curricula. The madrassah administrations, under the banner of ITMP, are demanding the grant of the status of Education Boards (like the ones in the mainstream public sector for the five *Wafaqs* under ITMP) in return for the inclusion of such subjects into their curricula. Grant of this status to the five *Wafaqs* would enable them to issue Secondary School Certificates and Higher Secondary School Certificates to their students that would be considered equivalent to the same certificates awarded by the other government-recognized education boards. The government and the ITMP were close to striking a deal in the last leg of Ch. Shujaat Hussain-led Pakistan Muslim League (PML) government (2002-07), but the then Federal Minister for Education Javed Ashraf Qazi thought it to be more expedient to leave the decision to the next government rather than giving a nod to something as important in the last leg of their government’s tenure.⁶³ Such an agreement at the time would not, however, have covered the religious education curriculum of the madrassahs. In October 2010, the then Federal Minister for Interior Mr. Rehman Malik signed an agreement with the leadership of the ITMP for the grant of the status of Education Boards

⁵⁷ “Geo-tagging of 14,000 seminaries complete: IG,” Dawn, May 20, 2015. Mushtaq Sarki, “Geotagging of 7,724 madrassas completed in Sindh,” *The Express Tribune*, September 15, 2016.

⁵⁸ Naazir Mahmood, “The farce called geotagging,” *The News*, February 12, 2017.

⁵⁹ Noor Aftab, “Commission to regulate religious seminaries soon,” *The News*, June 22, 2015.

⁶⁰ Sharif Khan, “Gen Bajwa for revisiting madrassa teaching concept,” *The Nation*, December 8, 2017.

⁶¹ “Janjua for absorbing seminary students in mainstream system,” *The Nation*, January 16, 2018.

⁶² Qadeer Tanoli, “Provinces ‘miserably’ fail to register madrassas,” *The Express Tribune*, August 30, 2018.

⁶³ The highest degree awarded by the *Wafaqs* called *Shahadatul Almiya Fil Uloomal Arabia wal Islamia* is already recognized by the Higher Education Commission 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. See

<http://hec.gov.pk/english/services/students/Documents/Mode%20of%20Education.docx>

(like the ones in the mainstream public sector) to the five *Wafaqs* under ITMP in return for the inclusion of contemporary subjects like English, math, and science into their curricula.⁶⁴ In 2015, NACTA also took a major step on this issue by constituting two committees with representation of the ITMP to negotiate with Inter Board Committee of Chairmen and the Higher Education Commission on the question of equivalence for the madrassah certificates/degrees.⁶⁵ Despite the fact that the October 2010 agreement was never implemented, in July 2016 the same was agreed upon with the next government of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N).⁶⁶ And in the end, as the election year approached and political crises marred the previous government, madrassah reform took a backstage.⁶⁷

The current government intends to implement a uniform curriculum in all primary, secondary, and tertiary level education institutions across the country. The idea is not new, though. The National Assembly's Standing Committee on Education proposed a uniform curriculum for all schools in Pakistan including madrassahs in May 2010. The then Minister of State for Education Mr. Ghulam Farid Kathia admitted, however, that the Ministry of Education could not enforce its curriculum in madrassahs because they were under the Ministry of Religious Affairs.⁶⁸ In March 2013, the U.S.-based International Centre for Religion and Diplomacy claimed that it had developed a model curriculum for madrassahs in Pakistan through a project that envisaged both religious and contemporary subjects.⁶⁹

In fiscal year 2014-15, the government allocated Rs.50 million for a pilot project to introduce primary-level English, science, and math for students of *Hifz* (memorization of the Holy Quran) in madrassahs in 10 districts of the country. The project was to be implemented by the National Commission for Human Development (NCHD). By the end of 2014, however, even the funds could not be released for the project.⁷⁰ In March 2016, the NCHD launched the said Madrassah School Project to provide primary education to students studying in madrassahs for *Hifz* (memorizing of the Holy Quran) for mainstreaming to bring seminaries in the mainstream and to provide formal education to the madrassah students in the Islamabad, FATA, Gilgit-

⁶⁴ See Syed Irfan Raza, "Accord for introducing new subjects in madrassahs signed," *Dawn*, October 8, 2010; "Govt, Deeni Madaris team sign accord on syllabus," *The News*, October 8, 2010;

⁶⁵ See <https://nacta.gov.pk/madaris-reforms/>

⁶⁶ Kashif Abbasi, "Five seminary boards to adopt FBISE syllabus," *Dawn*, July 14, 2016; Iftikhar Alam, "Accord on madrasa reforms struck," *The Nation*, July 14, 2016; Riazul Haq, "Seminaries to adopt federal board's syllabus," *The Express Tribune*, July 14, 2016.

⁶⁷ Iftikhar Alam, "Madaris reforms pact put on the back burner," *The Nation*, October 9, 2017.

⁶⁸ Curriculum for schools and seminaries proposed, *The News*, May 25, 2010.

⁶⁹ "Anwar Iqbal, Model curriculum for madrassahs combines religion and science," *Dawn*, April 1, 2013.

⁷⁰ Kashif Abbasi, "Madrassah mainstreaming project awaits funds," *Dawn*, December 24, 2014.

Baltistan (GB), and Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK).⁷¹ In August 2016, the project management reported that 91 male and 9 female teachers had been deputed in 100 identified madrassahs catering to about 2,480 students.⁷² In August 2018, however, even the madrassahs of Islamabad under the project neither provided with sufficient books by the Federal Directorate of Education (FDE) and nor were they registered with the FDE.⁷³ In February 2018, the madrassah leadership expressed serious reservations over the incisive questioning on the part of the personnel of the Special Branch of the police under the new registration form.⁷⁴ Similar reservations about the pace of registration process under the new procedure were raised during the ITMP's meeting with the then National Security Advisor Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Nasser Khan Janjua in April 2018.⁷⁵ Influential leaders of religious political parties like Maulana Fazlur Rehman have already their suspicion of "the government's intentions under the garb of madressah reforms."⁷⁶

Therefore, one could argue that the government will need to put in extra resources than it is currently doing for the implementation of a uniform contemporary education curriculum in madrassahs, alongside the demand of the madrassah leadership for grant of equivalence to the certificates and degrees awarded by the five *Wafaqs* of madrassahs.

Another important aspect of government's negotiations with madrassahs, which is hardly part of any discussion, is how good a representative of the estimated 35,000 madrassahs in Pakistan are the top leaders of the five *Wafaqs* represented in the ITMP. There is a high degree of lack of transparency in the election process of the Chairmen and Secretaries-General of the five *Wafaqs* who constitute the membership of the ITMP. The incumbents on these positions usually remain there until their deaths. Their positions could remain vacant for months, even years, after their deaths. A madrassah administrator as well respected as Mufti Mohammad Naeem has expressed his reservations about the effectiveness of role of Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia, with which his Jamia Binoria International is affiliated.⁷⁷ He urged Wafaqul Madaris to pay more attention to the problems of madrassahs rather than just conducting their exams.⁷⁸ He further urged more effective provincial devolution of the *Wafaq* to help madrassahs with their problems at the provincial levels.⁷⁹ The question could arise here, however, that if the ITMP

⁷¹ "NCHD launches project to offer formal education to seminarians," *The News*, March 31, 2016.

⁷² Jawad Yousafzai, "Govt sets up 100 feeder schools in seminaries," *The Nation*, August 29, 2016.

⁷³ "FDE fails to play its role under NAP's mainstreaming of Madaris," *The News*, August 31, 2018.

⁷⁴ Zia Ur Rehman, "Madrasas refuse to share info with Special Branch," *The News*, February 27, 2018.

⁷⁵ "Seminaries express concern over slow registration," *Dawn*, April 11, 2018.

⁷⁶ Kalbe Ali, "Moot soon on madressah reforms, Ahmadi: Fazl" in *Dawn*, September 11, 2018.

⁷⁷ Interview with Mufti Muhammad Naeem, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Binoria, Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018.

⁷⁸ Interview with Mufti Muhammad Naeem, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Binoria, Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018.

⁷⁹ Interview with Mufti Muhammad Naeem, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Binoria, Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018.

does not effectively represent the madrassah administrations who does and how does one identify them?

Following is a brief timeline of government's efforts for madrassah reform from 1970 onward:⁸⁰

- 1970 Gen. Yahya Khan constituted an educational commission led by Air Marshal Noor Khan, which gave its recommendations (including introduction of contemporary education to madrassah curriculum). The recommendations were accepted by leading religious scholars of the time.
- 1979 A committee for the review of religious seminaries was constituted under the leadership of Abdul Wahid Halepota. The committee included religious scholars and also recommended inclusion of contemporary education in madrassah curriculum.
- 1988 A Permanent Commission for Islamization of Education was constituted by Gen. Zia-ul-Haq. During the military dictatorship of Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, the five Wafaqs of madrassahs were offered equivalence with contemporary education system for all their levels but the madrassah leadership refused to accept it because they believed that if the mid-level certification would be given equivalence their students would leave religious studies and join institutions of contemporary learning for pursuing higher education. They only accepted equivalence for their highest degree with Masters of Arts (M.A.).
- 1989 The Permanent Commission for Islamization of Education was abolished during the government of Benazir Bhutto.
- 1991 A commission was constituted under the leadership of the Member of National Assembly (MNA) Sajjad Haider in pursuance of Section 7 of the Shariah Act for Islamization of curriculum during Nawaz Sharif government.
- 1993 During the second term of Benazir Bhutto, MNA Ghazanfar Gul was made the head of the commission but no progress was made.

⁸⁰ Developments up to 1997 are taken from the speech of Dr. Amir Tuaseen at the Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement at the Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, on March 14, 2019. The later developments are from open source and have been referenced in relevant places in the text above in the same section.

- 1997 During the second term of Nawaz Sharif, Dr. Zafar Ishaq Ansari was made the chairman of the commission but once again there was no progress on mainstreaming of madrassah education.
- 2001 Gen. Pervez Musharraf established the Pakistan Madrassah Education Board. The madrassah leadership refused to acknowledge it and no independent madrassahs were affiliated with the board. The three government-funded madrassahs that were affiliated with it remained cash-strapped and the Board got practically defunct.
- 2002 Government introduced the five-year Madrassah Reform Project for introduction of contemporary subjects in madrassahs in return for provision of books and computers under the Ministry of Education. After completion in 2007, the project was unable to achieve the desired results.
- 2005 The Madrassahs Registration Ordinance (MRO) was promulgated under which the madrassah administrations resumed registration of their madrassahs.
- 2010 The government signed an agreement with the leadership of the ITMP for the grant of the status of Education Boards (like the ones in the mainstream public sector) to the five *Wafaqs* under ITMP in return for the inclusion of contemporary subjects like English, math, and science into their curricula.
- 2014 The need for madrassah reform is highlighted in the National Internal Security Policy 2014-18.
- 2014 The need for madrassah reform is highlighted in the National Action Plan (NAP)
- 2014 The government allocated Rs.50 million for a pilot project to introduce primary-level English, science, and math for students of *Hifz* (memorization of the Holy Quran) in madrassahs in 10 districts of the country.
- 2018 The need for madrassah reform is highlighted in the National Internal Security Policy 2018-23.
- 2015 NACTA constituted two committees with representation of the ITMP to negotiate with Inter Board Committee of Chairmen and the Higher Education Commission on the question of equivalence for the madrassah certificates/degrees.
- 2016 The government once again agreed with the leadership of the ITMP for the grant of the status of Education Boards to the five *Wafaqs* in return for the

inclusion of contemporary subjects like English, math, and science into their curricula.

Methodology

Considering the aforementioned context, involving the madrassah leadership through their *Wafaqs* in co-creating entry points for youth-led madrassah engagement activities is essential. Bringing the well-established contacts of CODE PAKISTAN with the madrassah leadership, therefore, CODE PAKISTAN reached out to the top leadership of various *Wafaqs*, as well as to *Mohtamims* (administrators) of several madrassahs. The most influential leaders of the madrassahs, such as the top leadership of four of the five *Wafaqs* and *Mohtamims* of important madrassahs were individually interviewed through a scoping exercise.⁸¹

While the interviews were very helpful in the drafting of the findings of this report. CODE PAKISTAN followed them up with five consultative dialogues with religious scholars, students, and relevant academics to finalize the contours of an intervention plan for the constructive engagement of seminary students in KP and Sindh. In other words, while the interviews resulted in establishing the broad contours of the strategies and entry points, the roundtables resulted in intervention plans based on and within the parameters set by the findings of the scoping exercise. Two of the consultative dialogues were held in Peshawar, two were held in Karachi, and the final one—with representation from the federal capital, Sindh, and KP—was held in Islamabad.⁸²

⁸¹ See Annex I for the list of persons interviewed for the report.

⁸² See Annex I for the list of participants of each consultative dialogue.

Findings: The View from the Other Side

Does Madrassah Leadership see Madrassahs as Fully Integrated Education Institutions Contributing to National Progress

Although certain relatively well-endowed large madrassahs are offering contemporary education to their students, madrassahs remain primarily institutions of religious learning. Since the aptitude of madrassah students toward various fields largely depends on their teachers who are madrassah graduates and there is no independent career counselling in madrassahs, most of the students want to become *Imams/Khateeb*s in mosques rather than teachers at madrassahs.⁸³ Madrassah students do feel the need for having employable skills because of a very high saturation of the mosque and madrassah occupations and the low incomes associated with them.⁸⁴ With only a religious education background, if a madrassah student is unable or unwilling to assume religious teaching or preaching as a profession, they can either do manual labor or, if they can afford, start a small-scale private business.

Since leadership of certain madrassahs now realizes the importance of contemporary education, students of madrassahs are showing interest in learning Arabic, Persian, and Chinese languages as well as obtaining contemporary education alongside religious education.⁸⁵ They are generally interested in languages and computers,⁸⁶ but also in journalism, online teaching, graphic designing, and other media-related fields.⁸⁷ Inclination toward obtaining contemporary education from mainstream education institutions alongside the madrassah education is also

⁸³ Interview with Maulana Dr. Ghulam Abbas Qadri, *Mohtamim*, Idara Uloom-i-Islami, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018. Interview with Dr. Qibla Ayaz, Chairman, Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, in Islamabad on November 12, 2018. Interview with Maulana Maqsood Ahmed Salafi, Chairman, Peace Foundation Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018.

⁸⁴ Interview with Dr. Mufti Imran al-Kalyanvi, Assistant Professor, Karachi University, in Karachi on December 31, 2018. Interview with Allama Abid Hussain Shakiri, Principal, Madrassah Ahl-i-Bait Anwar-ul-Madaris, Kalaya, Orakzai Agency, in Kalaya on November 15, 2018. Interview with Dr. Abdul Hai Madani, Associate Professor, NED University of Engineering and Technology Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018.

⁸⁵ Interview with Maulana Mohammad Anwar Ghazi, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018. Interview with Maulana Fazal Jameel, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, in Dargai on November 14, 2018.

⁸⁶ Interview with Dr. Abdul Hai Madani, Associate Professor, NED University of Engineering and Technology Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Aziz Nooristan, Emir, Shura Ulema Ahl-i-Hadith Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Naseem Ali Shah, *Mohtamim* Jamia al-Markaz-i-Islami, Bannu, in Bannu on November 14, 2018.

⁸⁷ Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018. Interview with Aamir Ahmed Usmani, Student, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018. Interview with Mohammad Zaki, Student, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 17, 2018.

abundant among madrassah students who can afford time and resources for pursuing both the studies side-by-side.⁸⁸ In some madrassahs students are interested in public speaking and politics as well.⁸⁹ Vocational skills are also sought after by madrassah students for employability.⁹⁰ Female madrassah student also have interest in higher studies in universities and learning technical skills like sewing and embroidery.⁹¹

Madrassah leadership believes that non-recognition of the certificates/degrees awarded by the madrassahs is a major obstacle in employability of madrassah graduates because they cannot apply for government jobs, except certain limited teaching opportunities for teaching Islamic Studies and Arabic in schools, colleges, and universities.⁹² They are of view that if taught well, madrassah graduates can perform responsibilities anywhere,⁹³ such as Islamic banking,

⁸⁸ Interview with Maulana Fazal Ali Haqqani, Chief Instructor, Jamia Rashidia, Swabi, in Swabi on November 11, 2018. Interview with Mehmood Jan Khan, Deputy Speaker, Provincial Assembly of KP, in Peshawar on November 17, 2018. Interview with Maulana Maqsood Ahmed Salafi, Chairman, Peace Foundation Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018. Interview with Mufti Mohammad Ayaz Durrani, Jamia Tableegh ul Quran, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 17, 2018. Interview with Mohammad Zaki, Student, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 17, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

⁸⁹ Interview with Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

⁹⁰ Interview with Mufti Mohammad Ayaz Durrani, Jamia Tableegh ul Quran, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 17, 2018. Interview with Mohammad Zaki, Student, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 17, 2018.

⁹¹ Interview with the Mrs. Maulana Ghulam Mustafa Hazarvi, Principal, Jamia Islamia Umm-i-Habiba, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

⁹² Interview with Maulana Abdul Aziz Nooristani, Emir, Shura Ulema Ahl-i-Hadith Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Umer Bin Abdul Aziz Peshawari, *Mohtamim*, Jamia al-Asaria, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Tayyab Qureshi, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Ashrafia, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018. Interview with Maulana Fazal Jameel, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, in Dargai on November 14, 2018. Interview with Dr. Qibla Ayaz, Chairman, Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, in Islamabad on November 12, 2018. Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018. Interview with Allama Abid Hussain Shakiri, Principal, Madrassah Ahl-i-Bait Anwar-ul-Madaris, Kalaya, Orakzai Agency, in Kalaya on November 15, 2018. Interview with Allama Jawad Hadi, *Mohtamim* Jamia Shaheed Arif al-Hussaini, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018. Interview with Maulana Fazal Jameel, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, in Dargai on November 14, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan, in Mardan on November 14, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018. Interview with Mufti Mohammad Ayaz Durrani, Jamia Tableegh ul Quran, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 17, 2018. Interview with Mufti Muneeb ur Rehman, President, Ittehad-i-Tanzimat-i-Madaris Pakistan (ITMP), in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

⁹³ Interview with Maulana Fazal Ali Haqqani, Chief Instructor, Jamia Rashidia, Swabi, in Swabi on November 11, 2018.

economics (settlement of inheritance according to Islamic teachings),⁹⁴ and even as juries in alternative dispute resolution mechanisms (ADRs).⁹⁵ Certain senior-level leaders of madrassahs support introduction of contemporary education in madrassahs to open the horizons of opportunities for them.⁹⁶ Others agree that since madrassah students largely come from less privileged backgrounds, they have to be given education that can also help them earn their livelihoods.⁹⁷ The madrassah students also favor introduction of contemporary education into the curricula of madrassahs.⁹⁸ More details about curriculum reform and introduction of contemporary subjects in madrassahs are given in the succeeding sections of the report.

Some madrassahs are also taking the lead in providing platforms to their students for holding extra-curricular activities. They do complain about limited availability of resources to them for sports and extra-curricular activities as compared to mainstream public sector and private education institutions.⁹⁹

The students of Jamia Khairul Madaris, Multan, engage in social welfare activities such as cleaning and awareness raising about important social issues;¹⁰⁰ the students of Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, are provided with platforms for poetry, debates, essay-writing, social media, etc.;¹⁰¹ Jamia Asaria, Peshawar, holds inter-madrassah competitions, sports, poetry, and other extra-curricular activities for its students;¹⁰² the students of Jamia Rashdia, Swabi, are provided

⁹⁴ Interview with Maulana Dr. Ghulam Abbas Qadri, *Mohtamim*, Idara Uloom-i-Islami, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

⁹⁵ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 10, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement at the Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, on March 14, 2019. Interview with Mufti Mohammad Ayaz Durrani, Jamia Tableegh ul Quran, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 17, 2018.

⁹⁶ Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018.

⁹⁷ Interview with Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018. Interview with Dr. Mufti Imran al-Kalyanvi, Assistant Professor, Karachi University, in Karachi on December 31, 2018.

⁹⁸ Interview with Aamir Ahmed Usmani, Student, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

⁹⁹ Interview with Maulana Umer bin Abdul Aziz Peshawari, *Mohtamim*, Jamia al-Asaria, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018.

¹⁰¹ Interview with Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

¹⁰² Interview with Maulana Abdul Aziz Nooristan, Emir, Shura Ulema Ahl-i-Hadith Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018.

opportunities for sports and organizing blood camps;¹⁰³ Jamia Salafia, Faisalabad, organizes several such activities and competitions in the fields of sports and other extra-curricular activities;¹⁰⁴ Jamia Haqqania has social welfare platforms for students in the form of trusts;¹⁰⁵ the students of Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, hold annual blood camps, celebrate National Day of Pakistan, Kashmir Day, etc., participate in sports such as cricket and martial arts, participate in tree-plantation whenever required, and take language courses;¹⁰⁶ Jamia Tafheem-ul-Quran, Mardan, a platform for conducting extra-curricular activities such as debates and other competitions among students and teaches its students event management;¹⁰⁷ Jamia Tableegh-ul-Quran, Peshawar, has a student body that engages students in debates, essay competitions, sports, tailoring courses, poetry, language courses, etc. under the guidance of the teachers;¹⁰⁸ and Jamia al-Rasheed also provides ample opportunities to its students various extra-curricular activities.¹⁰⁹

It is pertinent to note here that despite their best efforts to enable their students to fully equip their students to meet the demands of the twenty-first century market and lifestyle, most of them are resource constrained. Several of them consider financial constraints as their biggest problem, followed next in line by lack of contemporary education and the grant of equivalence to their certificates/degrees, which, in turn, is also linked to financial constraints.¹¹⁰ Some of them also grieve over the lack of understanding among the public, especially their critics, about

¹⁰³ Interview with Maulana Fazal Ali Haqqani, Chief Instructor, Jamia Rashidia, Swabi, in Swabi on November 11, 2018.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Maulana Anwar ul Haq Haqqani, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 12, 2018.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Maulana Fazal Jameel, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, in Dargai on November 14, 2018.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Mufti Mohammad Ayaz Durrani, Jamia Tableegh ul Quran, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 17, 2018.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Aamir Ahmed Usmani, Student, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Maulana Dr. Ghulam Abbas Qadri, *Mohtamim*, Idara Uloom-i-Islami, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018. Interview with Maulana Tayyab Qureshi, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Ashrafia, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Aziz Nooristan, Emir, Shura Ulema Ahl-i-Hadith Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Naseem Ali Shah, *Mohtamim* Jamia al-Markaz-i-Islami, Bannu, in Bannu on November 14, 2018. Interview with Maulana Anwar ul Haq Haqqani, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 12, 2018. Interview with Maulana Fazal Jameel, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, in Dargai on November 14, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan, in Mardan on November 14, 2018.

their problem, primarily their financial constraints.¹¹¹ It is interesting to note that the financial constraints are further compounded when it comes to female madrassahs because they are much fewer in number and find it hard to secure funding in competition with the abundant male madrassahs. Therefore, female madrassahs generally do not provide education to their students free of cost, which creates problems for students coming from less privileged backgrounds.¹¹² The buildings of female madrassahs are also generally more cramped than the male madrassahs and lack in facilities, such as computer labs and good libraries.¹¹³

How does Madrassah Leadership Perceive its Sectarian Divisions?

As mentioned in the previous section, madrasah education is divided on sectarian lines between the five *Wafaqs* regulating the academic affairs of the madrassahs and conducting their exams. As stated in the previous section, although the top leadership of the five *Wafaqs* cooperate with each other from the platform of ITMP to coordinate their stance with the government,¹¹⁴ there negligible contact between the faculties and students of madrassahs of various sects in Pakistan.¹¹⁵ Inter-sectarian interaction between the students and faculties of the madrassahs of different sects is not only less encouraged, it is expressly forbidden in some madrassahs, especially in peripheral areas of the country.¹¹⁶ Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin of the well-respected Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, termed sectarian and jurisprudential differences as the single biggest problem faced by madrassahs,¹¹⁷ followed by the related lack

¹¹¹ Interview with Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

¹¹² Interview with the Mrs. Maulana Ghulam Mustafa Hazarvi, Principal, Jamia Islamia Umm-i-Habiba, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

¹¹³ Interview with the Mrs. Maulana Ghulam Mustafa Hazarvi, Principal, Jamia Islamia Umm-i-Habiba, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Mufti Muneeb ur Rehman, President, Ittehad-i-Tanzimat-i-Madaris Pakistan (ITMP), in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018. Interview with Mufti Muhammad Naeem, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Binoria, Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018. Interview with Dr. Qibla Ayaz, Chairman, Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, in Islamabad on November 12, 2018. Interview with Allama Dr. Siddique Ali Chishti, *Mohtamim* Jamia Ghousia Moeenia, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Naseem Ali Shah, *Mohtamim* Jamia al-Markaz-i-Islami, Bannu, in Bannu on November 14, 2018. Interview with Allama Abid Hussain Shakiri, Principal, Madrassah Ahl-i-Bait Anwar-ul-Madaris, Kalaya, Orakzai Agency, in Kalaya on November 15, 2018.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Dr. Mufti Imran al-Kalyanvi, Assistant Professor, Karachi University, in Karachi on December 31, 2018.

¹¹⁷ Interview with Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

of tolerance for divergence of opinion among madrassah students.¹¹⁸ The situation with female madrassahs is not very different; their students have no contact with students of other sects.¹¹⁹ Will the situation remain like this? Will the students and faculty members of madrassahs of various sects remain insulated from each other? Is there a willingness on the part of senior-level leadership of the madrassahs to encourage inter-sectarian interaction among the students and faculties of the madrassahs? There are divergent opinions among madrassah leaders with regard to the subject, which can be broadly classified into three main categories: the deniers, the embracers, and the cautious approvers.

The deniers maintain that there is inter-sectarian interaction among the madrassahs at the desirable level, i.e., at the top. They refer to the ITMP as an example of contact between various sects.¹²⁰ Others argue that through platforms like the ITMP, the madrassah leadership of various sects recognizes each other's degrees, consult each other on important issues, hold joint events, hold student competitions involving students of various sects, and even collaborate politically under forums such as Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), etc.¹²¹ Some even maintain that they are hosting students of other sects in their madrassahs¹²² and yet other deny the existence of sectarianism as a problem associated with madrassahs.¹²³ Such voices argue that association of madrassahs with sectarianism is a misrepresentation.¹²⁴ They refer to the books taught in *Dars-i-Nizami*, the madrassah curriculum, that are authored by Shia scholars to prove their point.¹²⁵ These voices are in a minority but some of them are in senior-level decision-making positions in the madrassah hierarchy.

¹¹⁸ Interview with Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

¹¹⁹ Interview with the Mrs. Maulana Ghulam Mustafa Hazarvi, Principal, Jamia Islamia Umm-i-Habiba, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

¹²⁰ Interview with Maulana Anwar ul Haq Haqqani, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 12, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan, in Mardan on November 14, 2018.

¹²¹ Interview with Maulana Fazal Jameel, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, in Dargai on November 14, 2018.

¹²² Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018.

¹²³ Interview with Maulana Mohammad Anwar Ghazi, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

¹²⁴ Interview with Maulana Mohammad Anwar Ghazi, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

¹²⁵ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 18, 2018. Interview with Maulana Mohammad Anwar Ghazi, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

The embracers, on the other hand, see lack of interaction between students and faculties of different sects as a problem.¹²⁶ They maintain that not only is inter-sectarian interaction very limited between madrassahs of various sects, it needs to be strongly encouraged through seminars, interaction, and extra-curricular activities to reduce polarization among the students.¹²⁷ The embracers among madrassah leaders believe that such interaction would promote non-violence among madrassah students by highlighting their commonalities instead of differences.¹²⁸ They add that compared with universities, inter-sectarian harmony is not up to the desirable level.¹²⁹ Some students of madrassahs also feel the need for interaction of madrassah students with the students of a madrassah of other sects.¹³⁰ The embracers also come up with some excellent ideas for promoting inter-sectarian contact and harmony in Pakistan, such as authorship and publication of books to promote harmony between various sects,¹³¹ student exchanges between madrassahs of different sects,¹³² allowing students of one sect to take exams of the *Wafaq* of the other sects,¹³³ etc. Maulana Dr. Atta-ur-Rehman even shared that they had already established a *Wafaq* named Rabta al-Madaris al-Islamia, which,

¹²⁶ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 18, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

¹²⁷ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 23, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 24, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement at the Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, on March 14, 2019. Interview with Maulana Abdul Aziz Nooristan, Emir, Shura Ulema Ahl-i-Hadith Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Maqsood Ahmed Salafi, Chairman, Peace Foundation Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Tayyab Qureshi, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Ashrafia, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018. Interview with Mohammad Zaki, Student, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 17, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018. Interview with Maulana Fazal Ali Haqqani, Chief Instructor, Jamia Rashidia, Swabi, in Swabi on November 11, 2018.

¹²⁸ Interview with Maulana Fazal Jameel, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, in Dargai on November 14, 2018.

¹²⁹ Interview with Dr. Mufti Imran al-Kalyanvi, Assistant Professor, Karachi University, in Karachi on December 31, 2018. ¹²⁹ Interview with Maulana Dr. Ghulam Abbas Qadri, *Mohtamim*, Idara Uloom-i-Islami, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

¹³⁰ Interview with Aamir Ahmed Usmani, Student, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018. Interview with Dr. Abdul Hai Madani, Associate Professor, NED University of Engineering and Technology Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018.

¹³¹ Interview with Maulana Naseem Ali Shah, *Mohtamim* Jamia al-Markaz-i-Islami, Bannu, in Bannu on November 14, 2018.

¹³² Interview with Allama Jawad Hadi, *Mohtamim* Jamia Shaheed Arif al-Hussaini, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018.

¹³³ Interview with Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan, in Mardan on November 14, 2018.

according to him, was sect-neutral and established for the purpose of promoting inter-sectarian harmony.¹³⁴

The cautious approvers fall somewhere in between the deniers and the embracers. They are of the view that there is a need for such interactions but since such interactions have the potential to escalate into an unwarranted argument, they should be held in strictly controlled environment with pre-determined procedures.¹³⁵ Influential madrassah leaders like the Secretary-General of Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Maulana Hanif Jallundhri are of the view that there should be interaction between students of madrassahs of different sects even on points of divergence but in a constructive atmosphere of logic and argument, which does not lead to further differences.¹³⁶ He further stresses that the way there is contact between religious scholars of various sects that enables them to resolve their differences, there should be contact at the student levels as well.¹³⁷ Mufti Naeem, the influential mohtamim of Jamia Binoria Karachi, is of the view that inter-sectarian interaction should be limited to controlled settings and on issues of convergence rather than divergence, otherwise, this could lead to further complications rather than any betterment.¹³⁸

Are Madrassahs Open to Coming out of their Isolation?

Quite interestingly, when it comes to the interaction between the students of madrassahs and universities, there is an almost complete unanimity on the need for it.¹³⁹ Some add that such interaction is already taking place and needs to be further encouraged so that the differentiation between mullah and Mr. can be done away with,¹⁴⁰ while others allude to the fact

¹³⁴ Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018.

¹³⁵ Interview with Mufti Mohammad Ayaz Durrani, Jamia Tableegh ul Quran, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 17, 2018.

¹³⁶ Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018.

¹³⁷ Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018.

¹³⁸ Interview with Mufti Muhammad Naeem, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Binoria, Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018.

¹³⁹ Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018. Interview with Mufti Muhammad Naeem, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Binoria, Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018. Interview with Aamir Ahmed Usmani, Student, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018. Interview with Dr. Mufti Imran al-Kalyanvi, Assistant Professor, Karachi University, in Karachi on December 31, 2018. Interview with Dr. Abdul Hai Madani, Associate Professor, NED University of Engineering and Technology Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018. Interview with the Mrs. Maulana Ghulam Mustafa Hazarvi, Principal, Jamia Islamia Umm-i-Habiba, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018. Interview with Maulana Mohammad Anwar Ghazi, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

¹⁴⁰ Interview with Maulana Mohammad Anwar Ghazi, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018. Interview with Maulana Mohammad Anwar Ghazi, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on

that madrassah students are already studying in universities and some are also teaching in them.¹⁴¹ Maulana Dr. Ghulam Abbas Qadri proudly stated that the students of madrassah graduates teaching at universities were happier with them than the teachers who were educated in contemporary education institutions like colleges and universities.¹⁴²

Madrassah leadership has come up with several ideas for promoting university-madrassah interaction, such as study tours to each other's institutions and joint extra-curricular activities,¹⁴³ institutionalized written and verbal dialogues,¹⁴⁴ platforms for interaction between teachers and students,¹⁴⁵ sports and debating competitions,¹⁴⁶ joint seminars and workshops,¹⁴⁷ cultural fairs,¹⁴⁸ and even exchange of students.¹⁴⁹

December 3, 2018. Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018. Interview with Maulana Fazal Jameel, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, in Dargai on November 14, 2018.

¹⁴¹ Interview with Maulana Dr. Ghulam Abbas Qadri, *Mohtamim*, Idara Uloom-i-Islami, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018. Interview with Maulana Anwar ul Haq Haqqani, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 12, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan, in Mardan on November 14, 2018.

¹⁴² Interview with Maulana Dr. Ghulam Abbas Qadri, *Mohtamim*, Idara Uloom-i-Islami, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

¹⁴³ Interview with Maulana Abdul Aziz Nooristan, Emir, Shura Ulema Ahl-i-Hadith Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Naseem Ali Shah, *Mohtamim* Jamia al-Markaz-i-Islami, Bannu, in Bannu on November 14, 2018. Interview with Allama Abid Hussain Shakiri, Principal, Madrassah Ahl-i-Bait Anwar-ul-Madaris, Kalaya, Orakzai Agency, in Kalaya on November 15, 2018. Interview with Allama Jawad Hadi, *Mohtamim* Jamia Shaheed Arif al-Hussaini, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018. Interview with Maulana Tayyab Qureshi, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Ashrafia, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018. Interview with Maulana Fazal Jameel, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, in Dargai on November 14, 2018.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with Maulana Umer bin Abdul Aziz Peshawari, *Mohtamim*, Jamia al-Asaria, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Maqsood Ahmed Salafi, Chairman, Peace Foundation Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Dr. Qibla Ayaz, Chairman, Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, in Islamabad on November 12, 2018. Interview with Maulana Fazal Jameel, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, in Dargai on November 14, 2018.

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Maulana Fazal Ali Haqqani, Chief Instructor, Jamia Rashidia, Swabi, in Swabi on November 11, 2018. Interview with Mohammad Zaki, Student, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 17, 2018.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan, in Mardan on November 14, 2018.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018.

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Mufti Mohammad Ayaz Durrani, Jamia Tableegh ul Quran, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 17, 2018.

¹⁴⁹ Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018.

Is Madrassah Leadership Open to Regulation and Reform?

The government's efforts at mainstreaming madrassahs can be broadly classified into two categories: regulation and reform. While there have been some successes in regulation, such as registration of madrassahs, reform is an area where there has been very little to no progress at all.

Regulation

The madrassah leadership perceives the government's regulatory attempts as negative. They see them as an outcome of their perceived association with extremism, terrorism, and sectarianism, which they strongly disagree with.¹⁵⁰ Some of them view government-level suspicion about them as the single biggest problem of the madrassahs.¹⁵¹ While the government has been dealing with madrassahs through the ministries of Religious Affairs and Interior, madrassah leadership views madrassahs as education institutions and, therefore, want the Federal Ministry of Education—including the HEC—and provincial Education Departments to deal with them.¹⁵² They even want their registration with the provincial Education Departments

¹⁵⁰ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 10, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 23, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 24, 2018. Interview with Dr. Qibla Ayaz, Chairman, Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, in Islamabad on November 12, 2018. Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018.

¹⁵¹ Interview with Dr. Abdul Hai Madani, Associate Professor, NED University of Engineering and Technology Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018.

¹⁵² Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 10, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 18, 2018. Interview with Mufti Muneeb ur Rehman, President, Ittehad-i-Tanzimat-i-Madaris Pakistan (ITMP), in Karachi on December 3, 2018. Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018. Interview with Maulana Mohammad Anwar Ghazi, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Ghulam Abbas Qadri, *Mohtamim*, Idara Uloom-i-Islami, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018. Interview with Mufti Muhammad Naeem, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Binoria, Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018. Interview with Aamir Ahmed Usmani, Student, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018. Interview with Dr. Abdul Hai Madani, Associate Professor, NED University of Engineering and Technology Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018. Interview with the Mrs. Maulana Ghulam Mustafa Hazarvi, Principal, Jamia Islamia Umm-i-Habiba, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018. Interview with Maulana Fazal Ali Haqqani, Chief Instructor, Jamia Rashidia, Swabi, in Swabi on November 11, 2018. Interview with Maulana Naseem Ali Shah, *Mohtamim* Jamia al-Markaz-i-Islami, Bannu, in Bannu on November 14, 2018. Interview with Dr. Qibla Ayaz, Chairman, Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, in Islamabad on November 12, 2018. Interview with Allama Jawad Hadi, *Mohtamim* Jamia Shaheed Arif al-Hussaini, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018. Interview with Maulana Tayyab Qureshi, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Ashrafia, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018. Interview with Mufti Mohammad Ayaz Durrani, Jamia Tableegh ul Quran, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 17, 2018. Interview with Mohammad Zaki, Student, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 17, 2018. Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr.

instead of under the Societies Act of 1860 as charitable societies.¹⁵³ In this regard, the recent steps taken by the Government of KP to streamline registration with its provincial Education Department are appreciated by the representatives of the madrassahs.¹⁵⁴ They do not mind a limited role of the federal and provincial ministries of Religious Affairs either.¹⁵⁵ Wising to be treated as education institutions under the relevant educational government ministries is not a new desire on the part of the madrassah leadership. Madrassah leadership had expressed similar enthusiasm when the National Assembly's Standing Committee initiated a proposal of putting madrassahs under the purview of the Ministry of Education in May 2010.¹⁵⁶ While being put under the provincial Education Departments sounds like a great idea, there are practical limitations to its implementation. Education as a subject has been devolved to provinces post-eighteenth amendment to the constitution but madrassah *Wafaqs* are centrally organized with reach in all provinces. Moreover, the nature of madrassahs as institutions of religious learning imparting an education beyond the scope of the publicly prescribed syllabus adds to the complications in implementation of any educational policy. For instance, when NACTA agreed on a registration form and a data form for the madrassahs, they planned registration with the education department and submission of data form with the Home Department.¹⁵⁷ There might, therefore, be the need for involvement of multiple government institutions, which some informed analyses do caution against.¹⁵⁸

Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018. Interview with Maulana Anwar ul Haq Haqqani, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 12, 2018.

¹⁵³ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement at the Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, on March 14, 2019.

¹⁵⁴ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement at the Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, on March 14, 2019.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Mufti Muneeb ur Rehman, President, Ittehad-i-Tanzimat-i-Madaris Pakistan (ITMP), in Karachi on December 3, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Ghulam Abbas Qadri, *Mohtamim*, Idara Uloom-i-Islami, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018. Interview with Maulana Umer bin Abdul Aziz Peshawari, *Mohtamim*, Jamia al-Asaria, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Maqsood Ahmed Salafi, Chairman, Peace Foundation Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018.

¹⁵⁶ Bakhtawar Mian, "Ulema hail NA panel's proposal," *Dawn*, May 26, 2010.

¹⁵⁷ Interview with Mr. Ihsan Ghani Khan, former National Coordinator NACTA, in Islamabad on January 8, 2019.

¹⁵⁸ David Vestenskov (ed.), *The Role of Madrasas: Assessing Parental Choice, Financial Pipelines and Recent Developments in Religious Education in Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Denmark: Royal Danish Defence College, 2018), 126.

The bottom-line, however, is that madrassah leadership does not want to be dealt with through the prism of counter-terrorism as a law-enforcement issue.¹⁵⁹ They blame the “short-sighted policies” of the government for the rise in extremism and terrorism in the country and urge the government to focus on its policies for course-correction rather than regulation of madrassahs through a security paradigm.¹⁶⁰ Contrary to government and public perceptions about them, the madrassah representatives view themselves as custodians of the ideological frontiers of the country and some of them demand perks and privileges similar to those accorded to the military as custodians of the geographical frontiers of the country.¹⁶¹

Madrassah leadership believes that madrassahs are welfare organizations but instead of showing any interest whatsoever in their welfare,¹⁶² the government has taxed their utility bills and at times does not allow them to raise funds or collect animal hides as donations during Eid al-Adha.¹⁶³ They also complain of being frequently harassed by the intelligence agencies.¹⁶⁴ They add that because of the harassment of madrassah administrations and the even their private donors, madrassahs have started to encounter problems in fundraising from their longstanding donors.¹⁶⁵ The relatively moderate voices among the madrassah leadership, such as Maulana Fazal Ali Haqqani partly hold certain madrassahs responsible for the government-level perception about madrassahs. He pointed that while some madrassahs were good others

¹⁵⁹ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 18, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 23, 2018. Interview with Maulana Mohammad Anwar Ghazi, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

¹⁶⁰ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 18, 2018.

¹⁶¹ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 24, 2018.

¹⁶² Interview with Maulana Abdul Aziz Nooristan, Emir, Shura Ulema Ahl-i-Hadith Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Tayyab Qureshi, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Ashrafia, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018. Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018.

¹⁶² Interview with Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan, in Mardan on November 14, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan, in Mardan on November 14, 2018.

¹⁶³ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 24, 2018. Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018.

¹⁶⁴ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 23, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 24, 2018. Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018.

¹⁶⁵ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 23, 2018.

were not performing their religious duties well.¹⁶⁶ His views were seconded by some participants of one of the roundtables held in Karachi.¹⁶⁷

Even in terms of the regulatory mechanisms put in place by the government, the madrassah leadership believes that there are still gaps. They are of the view that although old madrassahs have been registered by the government, new madrassahs are facing considerable difficulties in getting themselves registered and open their bank accounts.¹⁶⁸ Madrassah representatives want a quick one-window operation for the registration of madrassahs and quick processing of the opening of their bank accounts.¹⁶⁹ Madrassah representatives argue that if opening of bank accounts would be made easier for them, it would enhance government oversight of their financial transactions and, therefore, the madrassahs would be saved from excessive questioning by the security agencies.¹⁷⁰ The problem for the banks, however, is that if any madrassah account in any bank is found linked to terrorist financing, the particular bank could face being blacklisted by the international banking authorities.¹⁷¹

Notwithstanding the regulatory challenges of the banking systems in particular and the government in general, Qari Yasin Zafar, the head of the Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, referred to the difficulties in terms of registering madrassahs as an unannounced ban on their registration and opening of bank accounts.¹⁷² The Chairman of ITMP Mufti Muneeb-ur-Rehman tended to agree with Qari Yasin Zafar's viewpoint and added that while the government put overt or covert bans on the registration of madrassahs and the *liberal* media raised hue and cry that madrassahs

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Maulana Fazal Ali Haqqani, Chief Instructor, Jamia Rashidia, Swabi, in Swabi on November 11, 2018.

¹⁶⁷ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 23, 2018.

¹⁶⁸ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 10, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 24, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Aziz Nooristan, Emir, Shura Ulema Ahl-i-Hadith Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Naseem Ali Shah, *Mohtamim* Jamia al-Markaz-i-Islami, Bannu, in Bannu on November 14, 2018. Interview with Maulana Anwar ul Haq Haqqani, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 12, 2018. Interview with Maulana Fazal Jameel, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, in Dargai on November 14, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan, in Mardan on November 14, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Aziz Nooristan, Emir, Shura Ulema Ahl-i-Hadith Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018.

¹⁶⁹ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement at the Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, on March 14, 2019.

¹⁷⁰ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 24, 2018.

¹⁷¹ Interview with Mr. Ihsan Ghani Khan, former National Coordinator NACTA, in Islamabad on January 8, 2019.

¹⁷² Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018.

were not ready for registration.¹⁷³ Muneeb-ur-Rehman also complained of lack of implementation of the agreements the government reached with madrassah leadership.¹⁷⁴ Being a bit more charitable to the government, Maulana Fazal Ali Haqqani also held the administrative shortcomings of the madrassahs partly responsible as well, especially when all legal formalities are not completed at the time of acquiring the premises for madrassahs leading to problems at the time of registration, audit, fundraising, etc.¹⁷⁵

On the other hand, influential madrassah leaders like Maulana Hanif Jallundhri are having a siege mentality and believe that it is part of an ongoing national and international conspiracy to malign madrassahs.¹⁷⁶ Jallundhri calls for countering the propaganda to make the public understand the role and importance of madrassahs for the society.¹⁷⁷ Other hardliners like Maulana Anwar Ghazi agree with him and term the Western education system introduced by the British as a divider of the Muslim community of the subcontinent because they believe that madrassahs pre-date Western education system which was introduced to sabotage the Islamic community of the subcontinent.¹⁷⁸ He is not alone in holding such a negative perception about the mainstream education system. Qari Hanif Jallundhri agreed with him and stated that the students who did not attend madrassahs also needed to do so because universities had become centers of immorality and drug abuse.¹⁷⁹ He further urged the religious (read madrassah educated) community to establish universities.¹⁸⁰ He even tried to actionize his plan in November 2016, when he announced the launch of a private school network across the country from the platform of Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia.¹⁸¹ Following in his footsteps, in March 2017,

¹⁷³ Interview with Mufti Muneeb ur Rehman, President, Ittehad-i-Tanzimat-i-Madaris Pakistan (ITMP), in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

¹⁷⁴ Interview with Mufti Muneeb ur Rehman, President, Ittehad-i-Tanzimat-i-Madaris Pakistan (ITMP), in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

¹⁷⁵ Interview with Maulana Fazal Ali Haqqani, Chief Instructor, Jamia Rashidia, Swabi, in Swabi on November 11, 2018.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018.

¹⁷⁷ Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Maulana Mohammad Anwar Ghazi, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018.

¹⁸⁰ Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018.

¹⁸¹ "Wafaqul Madaras Al-Arabia Pakistan to launch school system," *The News*, November 7, 2016.

Jamia Haqqania of the recently assassinated Maulana Sami ul Haq in Nowshera sought recognition as a private university.¹⁸²

Reform

When it comes to the reform of the madrassahs, government's negotiations with the madrassah leadership and its projects for reforming madrassahs discussed above have primarily targeted curriculum reform, i.e., introduction of contemporary subjects like English, math, and science into their curricula alongside the core religious education subjects.

Quite interestingly, the madrassah leadership is also largely in favor of introducing contemporary subjects to their curricula.¹⁸³ Some of them term lack of contemporary education and modern language learning as the most important educational problems of the madrassahs.¹⁸⁴ There are only a few dissenters like Maulana Abdul Wasay who are of the view that religious education is a specialized field and should remain so.¹⁸⁵ Top ITMP leaders like Qari Hanif Jallundhri also agree on the need for contemporary learning at madrassahs to enable their students to become contemporary persons to be able to work effectively for the propagation of Islamic teachings and guidance of the public according to Islam.¹⁸⁶ Jallundhri and even hardliners like Maulana Anwar Ghazi agree that contemporary education up to 10th Grade should be made

¹⁸² Sohail Khattak, "Haqqania seminary seeks university status," *The Express Tribune*, March 11, 2017.

¹⁸³ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Aziz Nooristan, Emir, Shura Ulema Ahl-i-Hadith Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Mohammad Zaki, Student, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 17, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018. Interview with Dr. Abdul Hai Madani, Associate Professor, NED University of Engineering and Technology Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018. Interview with Allama Abid Hussain Shakiri, Principal, Madrassah Ahl-i-Bait Anwar-ul-Madaris, Kalaya, Orakzai Agency, in Kalaya on November 15, 2018. Interview with Allama Jawad Hadi, *Mohtamim* Jamia Shaheed Arif al-Hussaini, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018. Interview with Maulana Fazal Jameel, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, in Dargai on November 14, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018. Interview with Mufti Mohammad Ayaz Durrani, Jamia Tableegh ul Quran, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 17, 2018.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018. Interview with Allama Jawad Hadi, *Mohtamim* Jamia Shaheed Arif al-Hussaini, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018. Interview with Mufti Mohammad Ayaz Durrani, Jamia Tableegh ul Quran, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 17, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018.

¹⁸⁵ Interview with Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan, in Mardan on November 14, 2018.

¹⁸⁶ Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018.

compulsory in all madrassahs.¹⁸⁷ Ghazi went a step further and argued that since relatively well-to-do parents had started sending their children to madrassahs instead of universities because of the better and culturally-sensitive value-system imparted in madrassahs, madrassahs needed to impart contemporary education to their students to enable them to perform worldly jobs after getting a better schooling in religious and worldly education in madrassahs.¹⁸⁸ The need for contemporary learning is also felt for the female madrassahs.¹⁸⁹ The then Federal Minister for Religious Affairs Sardar Yousaf has put it on record on the floor of the National Assembly in April 2014 that 8,000 madrassahs were teaching contemporary subjects like English, science, math to their students.¹⁹⁰

Some religious scholars went a step ahead and even suggested what else could be included from among the contemporary studies to the madrassah curricula besides English, math, and science. Some madrassah leaders suggested inclusion of courses about UN Charter, international treaties, and Pakistan's Constitution and laws, as well as national narrative.¹⁹¹ Maulana Maqsood Ahmed Salafi suggested courses on peace and harmony,¹⁹² while Chairman of the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) Dr. Qibla Ayaz called for bringing madrassah curriculum in line with international standards.¹⁹³ He further called for focusing on problem-diagnosis rather than book-reading, critical thinking rather than blind following.¹⁹⁴ Senior madrassah leader from KP, Maulana Naseem Ali Shah, suggested inclusion of books on history and national narrative and rewriting of the books written in old style in a more readable prose.¹⁹⁵ Maulana Fazal Jameel

¹⁸⁷ Interview with Maulana Hanif Jalandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018. Interview with Maulana Mohammad Anwar Ghazi, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

¹⁸⁸ Interview with Maulana Mohammad Anwar Ghazi, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

¹⁸⁹ Interview with the Mrs. Maulana Ghulam Mustafa Hazarvi, Principal, Jamia Islamia Umm-i-Habiba, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

¹⁹⁰ Javaid-ur-Rahman, "Lawmakers for regulating madrassa education," *The Nation*, April 2, 2014.

¹⁹¹ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 23, 2018. Interview with Maulana Umer bin Abdul Aziz Peshawari, *Mohtamim*, Jamia al-Asaria, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018. Interview with Maulana Umer bin Abdul Aziz Peshawari, *Mohtamim*, Jamia al-Asaria, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018.

¹⁹² Interview with Maulana Maqsood Ahmed Salafi, Chairman, Peace Foundation Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018

¹⁹³ Interview with Dr. Qibla Ayaz, Chairman, Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, in Islamabad on November 12, 2018.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Dr. Qibla Ayaz, Chairman, Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, in Islamabad on November 12, 2018.

¹⁹⁵ Interview with Maulana Naseem Ali Shah, *Mohtamim* Jamia al-Markaz-i-Islami, Bannu, in Bannu on November 14, 2018.

suggested inclusion of books on promoting national harmony and reducing inter-sectarian differences.¹⁹⁶ Inclusion of courses on responsible use of social media was also suggested by a participant in a consultative dialogue in Karachi.¹⁹⁷

Although the madrassah leadership and religious scholars appreciate the need for introducing contemporary subjects to the curriculum, they do not want to mandatorily implement it on all madrassahs without getting some concessions from the government. As stated in the previous section, the ITMP has been negotiating with the government for the grant of equivalence to their certificates/degrees in return for introducing contemporary subjects into their curricula. They are of the view that introduction of contemporary subjects to their curricula would not serve any purpose if it would not make them eligible to jobs in the public sector and the market.¹⁹⁸ The students of the madrassahs agree with their administrations on the equivalence.¹⁹⁹ As stated in the previous section, currently, the government only grants equivalence to the highest degree awarded by the madrassahs called *Almia* with M.A. Islamiyat and M.A. Arabic, but that too only for teaching purposes or for pursuing higher studies. Madrassah leadership maintains, however, that first the students of madrassahs have to go from pillar to post for acquiring equivalence from the HEC, then it's only recognized for teaching purposes.²⁰⁰ Chairman ITMP Mufti Muneeb-ur-Rehman has expressed his dissatisfaction over non-resolution of the equivalence issue despite considerable progress in the past negotiations.²⁰¹ Another reason for going for a quid-pro-quo with the government on the introduction of contemporary subjects to madrassah curricula and the grant of equivalence to their certificates/degrees is that introduction of contemporary subjects would require resources.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with Maulana Fazal Jameel, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, in Dargai on November 14, 2018.

¹⁹⁷ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 24, 2018.

¹⁹⁸ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 18, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 24, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement at the Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, on March 14, 2019. Interview with Maulana Umer bin Abdul Aziz Peshawari, *Mohtamim*, Jamia al-Asaria, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Maqsood Ahmed Salafi, Chairman, Peace Foundation Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Mehmood Jan Khan, Deputy Speaker, Provincial Assembly of KP, in Peshawar on November 17, 2018.

¹⁹⁹ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 24, 2018. Interview with Mohammad Zaki, Student, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 17, 2018. Interview with Aamir Ahmed Usmani, Student, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018. Interview with Aamir Ahmed Usmani, Student, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

²⁰⁰ Interview with Maulana Fazal Ali Haqqani, Chief Instructor, Jamia Rashidia, Swabi, in Swabi on November 11, 2018.

²⁰¹ Interview with Mufti Muneeb ur Rehman, President, Ittehad-i-Tanzimat-i-Madaris Pakistan (ITMP), in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

If the government would grant the required equivalence, people might start sending their children to madrassahs on payment of fees the way they send their children to private schools. This would generate revenue for the madrassahs. In addition, the madrassah leadership could also get financial support from the government after the issue is resolved.²⁰² Chairman of ITMP Mufti Muneeb-ur-Rehman lamented about non-scheduling of any meetings of the National Education Task Force constituted on November 3, 2018,²⁰³ and hinted at the need of government's financial support to madrassahs by saying that the government was worrying so much about madrassahs that it had never paid attention to the billions squandered in public education system from the school to the university level.²⁰⁴ His sentiments about the state of mainstream education in Pakistan were also echoed by other leaders of madrassahs who claimed that the mainstream education system of Pakistan was in need of reform more than the madrassahs.²⁰⁵

Madrassah leaders are also positively predisposed toward reform of the religious curriculum,²⁰⁶ such as inclusion of books on Islamic history and *Seerah* (life) of the Holy Prophet,²⁰⁷ teaching of modern philosophy instead of the philosophies of centuries-old Muslim scholars,²⁰⁸ exclusion of needlessly long and difficult to read books,²⁰⁹ and introduction of

²⁰² Interview with Maulana Mohammad Anwar Ghazi, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Ghulam Abbas Qadri, *Mohtamim*, Idara Uloom-i-Islami, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

²⁰³ Interview with Mehmood Jan Khan, Deputy Speaker, Provincial Assembly of KP, in Peshawar on November 17, 2018.

²⁰⁴ Interview with Mufti Muneeb ur Rehman, President, Ittehad-i-Tanzimat-i-Madaris Pakistan (ITMP), in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

²⁰⁵ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 23, 2018.

²⁰⁶ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 23, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement at the Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, on March 14, 2019. Interview with Allama Dr. Siddique Ali Chishti, *Mohtamim* Jamia Ghousia Moeenia, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018.

²⁰⁷ Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018. Interview with Aamir Ahmed Usmani, Student, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

²⁰⁸ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 23, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 24, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement at the Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, on March 14, 2019. Interview with Maulana Dr. Ghulam Abbas Qadri, *Mohtamim*, Idara Uloom-i-Islami, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

²⁰⁹ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement at the Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, on March 14, 2019. Interview with Allama Abid Hussain Shakiri, Principal, Madrassah Ahl-i-Bait Anwar-ul-Madaris, Kalaya, Orakzai Agency, in Kalaya on November 15, 2018.

textbooks on the Islamic beliefs and values of different Islamic countries,²¹⁰ as well as social sciences and general knowledge.²¹¹ Reform of the religious curriculum is already underway in some *Wafaqs*. For instance, Maulana Anwar Ghazi shared that work an important book of *Dars-i-Nizami* authored by Maulana Ashraft Ali Thanvi named *Bahishti Zevar* was being rewritten in light of modern day realities.²¹² The head of Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia Qari Yasin Zafar shared that his *Wafaq* had a Curriculum Committee that periodically reviewed the curriculum for its improvement.²¹³ Maulana Anwar ul Haq of the influential Jamia Haqqania in Nowshera, KP, shared that subjects like modern economics and astronomy had been added to the curricula of Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia.²¹⁴ The important aspect of the openness of madrassah leadership to the reform of its curriculum is that they do not want the government to get involved in the process. As Maulana Abdul Wasay stated that curriculum reforms was essential and was already taking place in madrassahs but the way the government perceived it did not come across as well-intentioned.²¹⁵

Does Madrassah Leadership View any Non-Government Role for their Welfare?

While the rank and file of madrassah *Mohtamims* is generally supportive of the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for the welfare of the madrassahs, there is some divergence of opinion among them on the parameters for establishing contacts between madrassahs and NGOs and the activities most beneficial for their students and institutions. Several influential madrassah leaders, the leadership of the madrassahs that sits at the helm of the *Wafaqs*, and even Chairman Council of Islamic Ideology Dr. Qibla Ayaz are of the view that NGOs should establish contacts with madrassah leadership at the level of their *Wafaqs*.²¹⁶ Some

²¹⁰ Interview with Allama Jawad Hadi, *Mohtamim* Jamia Shaheed Arif al-Hussaini, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018.

²¹¹ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement at the Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, on March 14, 2019. Interview with Maulana Tayyab Qureshi, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Ashrafia, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018.

²¹² Interview with Maulana Mohammad Anwar Ghazi, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi, in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

²¹³ Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018.

²¹⁴ Interview with Maulana Anwar ul Haq Haqqani, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 12, 2018.

²¹⁵ Interview with Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan, in Mardan on November 14, 2018.

²¹⁶ Interview with Dr. Qibla Ayaz, Chairman, Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, in Islamabad on November 12, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 24, 2018. Interview with Maulana Maqsood Ahmed Salafi, Chairman, Peace Foundation Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Naseem Ali Shah, *Mohtamim* Jamia al-Markaz-i-Islami, Bannu, in Bannu on November 14, 2018. Interview with Maulana Anwar ul Haq Haqqani, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Haqqania,

provincial-level leadership of the *Wafaqs* thinks that the NGOs should remain in contact with top-level provincial leadership of madrassahs.²¹⁷ Some *Mohtamims* or office-bearers of important madrassahs who are not necessarily represented in the *Wafaq* leadership maintain that NGOs should design their programs in consultation with the leaderships of the concerned madrassahs.²¹⁸

Some like Allama Jawad Hadi are of the view that since the needs of the welfare of madrassahs are so immense, NGOs should help at all levels.²¹⁹ One madrassah student urged the NGOs to focus their attention on the relatively less endowed peripheral madrassahs instead of the major ones.²²⁰ Madrassah community appreciates the efforts of NGOs but the NGOs should keep within the cultural limits of the madrassahs.²²¹ The top leadership of madrassahs is a bit skeptical of the role of NGOs for the welfare of madrassahs. It believes that since there are a lot of misperceptions about NGOs in Pakistan, madrassahs need to adopt a very cautious approach before proceeding on establishing any transactional relationship with them.²²² They would rather want to be financially supported by the government in appointing teachers for teaching contemporary subjects.²²³ Even in that case, however, they want the authority to hire and fire them to reside with the madrassah administrations.²²⁴ This general suspicion about

Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 12, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan, in Mardan on November 14, 2018. Interview with Dr. Abdul Hai Madani, Associate Professor, NED University of Engineering and Technology Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018. Interview with Maulana Maqsood Ahmed Salafi, Chairman, Peace Foundation Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018

²¹⁷ Interview with Maulana Umer bin Abdul Aziz Peshawari, *Mohtamim*, Jamia al-Asaria, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018.

²¹⁸ Interview with Maulana Fazal Ali Haqqani, Chief Instructor, Jamia Rashidia, Swabi, in Swabi on November 11, 2018. Interview with Mehmood Jan Khan, Deputy Speaker, Provincial Assembly of KP, in Peshawar on November 17, 2018. Interview with Mufti Mohammad Ayaz Durrani, Jamia Tableegh ul Quran, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 17, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Aziz Nooristan, Emir, Shura Ulema Ahl-i-Hadith Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Allama Dr. Siddique Ali Chishti, *Mohtamim* Jamia Ghousia Moeenia, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018.

²¹⁹ Interview with Allama Jawad Hadi, *Mohtamim* Jamia Shaheed Arif al-Hussaini, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018.

²²⁰ Interview with Mohammad Zaki, Student, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 17, 2018.

²²¹ Interview with the Mrs. Maulana Ghulam Mustafa Hazarvi, Principal, Jamia Islamia Umm-i-Habiba, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

²²² Interview with Mufti Muneeb ur Rehman, President, Ittehad-i-Tanzimat-i-Madaris Pakistan (ITMP), in Karachi on December 3, 2018. Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018.

²²³ Interview with Mufti Muneeb ur Rehman, President, Ittehad-i-Tanzimat-i-Madaris Pakistan (ITMP), in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

²²⁴ Interview with Mufti Muneeb ur Rehman, President, Ittehad-i-Tanzimat-i-Madaris Pakistan (ITMP), in Karachi on December 3, 2018.

NGOs, or any non-madrassah actors for that matter, was quite candidly summed up by Mufti Abu Bakar Mohiuddin. He shared that NGOs have generally been unsuccessful with madrassahs because madrassah leadership is generally suspicious of outsiders, even if they are university professors who had once been educated in madrassahs.²²⁵ He quite openly admitted that he did not see this situation changing.²²⁶ There is a considerable amount of agreement among madrassah leadership that the NGOs working for the welfare of the madrassahs need to respect their cultural ethos, especially when they are working inside their campuses.²²⁷ There is some hope, however, as influential madrassah leaders like Mufti Naeem approve of judging each NGO proposal for intervention on its merit instead of outright rejection or wholehearted acceptance of all such interventions.²²⁸ Encouragement has come from other *Mohtamims* as well, such as Maulana Tayyab Qureshi, who argue that the NGOs have done a world of good for the madrassahs and should continue doing so.²²⁹

What do the Madrassahs Want for their Welfare?

While the NGOs and their national and international donors might have their own ideas about what the madrassahs need, it is important to understand what does the madrassah leadership envision for itself as its welfare and what intervention do they see as substantially contributing to their welfare. Madrassah leadership broadly divides its needs into administrative and educational needs. Madrassah leadership believes that madrassah administrations need trainings for improving their internal management system, especially to meet official requirements such as submission of audit reports.²³⁰ Some madrassah leaders wish for direct financial or in-kind support to their madrassahs, such as provision of uniforms, books, medical facilities, food, construction of dorms and educational premises, etc.²³¹

²²⁵ Interview with Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

²²⁶ Interview with Maulana Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

²²⁷ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 10, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 18, 2018.

²²⁸ Interview with Mufti Muhammad Naeem, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Binoria, Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018.

²²⁹ Interview with Maulana Tayyab Qureshi, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Ashrafia, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018.

²³⁰ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018. Interview with Maulana Naseem Ali Shah, *Mohtamim* Jamia al-Markaz-i-Islami, Bannu, in Bannu on November 14, 2018.

²³¹ Interview with Maulana Abdul Aziz Nooristan, Emir, Shura Ulema Ahl-i-Hadith Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Tayyab Qureshi, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Ashrafia, Peshawar,

In terms of their educational needs, the madrassah leadership emphasizes the need for training of their teachers according to the needs of the modern times and improving the sense of study and research among their students.²³² Language courses, computer training, and teaching of contemporary subjects in madrassahs are also considered quite beneficial.²³³ There is also scope for engaging the students of madrassahs in healthy extra-curricular activities, including sports.²³⁴ The NGOs helping the madrassah students through tuitions in madrassahs for appearing in B.A. and M.A. exams as private candidates are also welcomed.²³⁵ Some madrassah administrators are also supportive of courses for their students in creative journalism or composing and graphic designing, which could help them obtain employment.²³⁶ Some senior-level madrassah leaders also suggested help for them in terms of provision of books and improving dormitories.²³⁷ There is also a decent amount of support among madrassah

in Peshawar on November 11, 2018. Interview with Maulana Fazal Jameel, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, in Dargai on November 14, 2018.

²³² Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 24, 2018. Interview with Maulana Hanif Jallandhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia Pakistan, in Islamabad on November 29, 2018. Interview with the Mrs. Maulana Ghulam Mustafa Hazarvi, Principal, Jamia Islamia Umm-i-Habiba, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018. Interview with Maulana Umer bin Abdul Aziz Peshawari, *Mohtamim*, Jamia al-Asaria, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Allama Jawad Hadi, *Mohtamim* Jamia Shaheed Arif al-Hussaini, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Ghulam Abbas Qadri, *Mohtamim*, Idara Uloom-i-Islami, Karachi, in Karachi on December 4, 2018.

²³³ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement at the Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, on March 14, 2019. Interview with Maulana Umer bin Abdul Aziz Peshawari, *Mohtamim*, Jamia al-Asaria, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Maulana Fazal Ali Haqqani, Chief Instructor, Jamia Rashidia, Swabi, in Swabi on November 11, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan, in Mardan on November 14, 2018. Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018.

²³⁴ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 18, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 24, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement at the Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, on March 14, 2019. Interview with Maulana Umer bin Abdul Aziz Peshawari, *Mohtamim*, Jamia al-Asaria, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018. Interview with Allama Jawad Hadi, *Mohtamim* Jamia Shaheed Arif al-Hussaini, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 11, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan, in Mardan on November 14, 2018. Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018. Interview with Maulana Maqsood Ahmed Salafi, Chairman, Peace Foundation Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018.

²³⁵ Interview with Maulana Fazal Ali Haqqani, Chief Instructor, Jamia Rashidia, Swabi, in Swabi on November 11, 2018.

²³⁶ Interview with Allama Dr. Siddique Ali Chishti, *Mohtamim* Jamia Ghousia Moeenia, Peshawar, in Peshawar on November 10, 2018.

²³⁷ Interview with Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia, Faisalabad, in Islamabad on November 27, 2018. Interview with Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan, in Mardan on November 14, 2018.

administrators for provision of vocational trainings to madrassah students inside their campuses.²³⁸ Allama Abid Hussain Shakiri, a Shia madrassah administrator and religious scholar from the remote town of Kalaya in Orakzai tribal district of KP urged the NGOs to work on establishing inter-sectarian contacts between madrassahs on divisive issues in a strictly controlled atmosphere.²³⁹ The *Mohtamim* of Jamia Haqqania Maulana Anwar ul Haq Haqqani agreed and urged NGOs to work for strengthening contact between madrassahs.²⁴⁰ A very unique and interesting avenue for NGOs in terms of support to madrassahs came from Dr. Abdul Hai Madani who urged the NGOs to raise awareness among the business community that financially supports madrassahs about safe charity and the need for madrassah reform so that they could exert their positive influence on the madrassah administrations.²⁴¹ Another exceptional idea came from a group discussion during the consultative dialogue in Islamabad, where it was suggested to the NGOs to assist the students of madrassahs in improving their research skills as per modern day requirements.²⁴²

²³⁸ Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Peshawar on December 18, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement in Karachi on December 24, 2018. Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement at the Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, on March 14, 2019. Interview with Maulana Naseem Ali Shah, *Mohtamim* Jamia al-Markaz-i-Islami, Bannu, in Bannu on November 14, 2018. Interview with Maulana Dr. Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Tafheem ul Quran, Mardan, in Mardan on November 17, 2018. Interview with Maulana Fazal Jameel, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai, in Dargai on November 14, 2018.

²³⁹ Interview with Allama Abid Hussain Shakiri, Principal, Madrassah Ahl-i-Bait Anwar-ul-Madaris, Kalaya, Orakzai Agency, in Kalaya on November 15, 2018.

²⁴⁰ Interview with Maulana Anwar ul Haq Haqqani, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera, in Nowshera on November 12, 2018.

²⁴¹ Interview with Dr. Abdul Hai Madani, Associate Professor, NED University of Engineering and Technology Karachi, in Karachi on December 2, 2018.

²⁴² Consultative Dialogue on Co-creating Entry Points for Madrassah Engagement at the Council of Islamic Ideology, Islamabad, on March 14, 2019.

Conclusion

There are quite a few differences between how the state and society perceive the madrassahs in Pakistan and how the representatives of the madrassahs view their institutions. While the public and government officials see madrassahs as part of the problem of rising extremism and polarization in the society, the madrassah representatives see themselves as part of the solution of filling the gaps in the educational landscape of the country. There is no denying the fact that madrassahs are philanthropic educational institutions that have been providing free education, boarding, lodging, and clothing to the poor and destitute for centuries in this region without much government support. The education system of madrassahs, however, is confronted with three major challenges. One, the madrassah education system is primarily producing graduates of religious studies who might not be required by the job market in that many numbers. Two, it is divided along sectarian lines with very little inter-sectarian interaction, which leads to polarization of views and potentially extremism. Three, the association of several known terrorists with the madrassah education system who, at times, were also openly supported by certain madrassah administrators raise concerns about the content and quality of their rather opaque education system.

It is in the context of these three major challenges that the government has responded with its efforts aimed at the regulation and reform of the madrassahs. Since madrassahs are not financed by the government for their day-to-day educational and developmental needs, they are fiercely independent and resist any moves by the government aimed at their regulation or reform, unless such moves are pre-consulted and agreed upon with their representative leadership in the form of the heads of the five sect-based *Wafaqs* who are also members of the ITMP, their umbrella organization established primarily for negotiating with the government on behalf of the madrassahs. While the government has to reconcile the demands of the ITMP with the needs of its overall governance, the ITMP has to face the tough challenge of selling the concessions it grants the government to the madrassah administrators.

Although the government has engaged the madrassah leadership in a dialogue for quite some time, very little has been achieved in terms of madrassah reform. There has been some progress on the regulation side, however, in the shape of the registration of madrassahs under the MRO. While the madrassahs are willing to introduce curriculum reform in the shape of introduction of contemporary subjects to their curricula, they want the government to grant the five *Wafaqs* legal rights to issue government-recognized 10th Grade and 12th Grade certificates, as well as graduate degrees to enable their students to apply for the government and private sector jobs. The government has its own challenges in terms of accepting that demand owing to various administrative and bureaucratic complexities. Some of which are the devolution of

education as a subject to the provincial governments post-eighteenth amendment, a set of bureaucratic protocols totally different from registering charitable organizations for registering private education institutions, reconciliation of the sect-based education system of madrassahs with the non-sectarian mainstream education system, the cross-cutting nature of the subject of madrassahs requiring inter-ministerial coordination and determination of responsibilities, and the law-enforcement angle to the madrassah regulation.

Although the ITMP has played a positive role of engaging the government in a constructive dialogue, there is some divergence of opinion between their stance on the welfare of madrassahs and the stance of some madrassah administrators. It appears, at times, that the ITMP presents a more hardline position on regulation and reform than some madrassah administrators desire. This raises questions about the nature of the ITMP as the representative institution of the madrassahs. Although the top leadership of every *Wafaq* represented in the ITMP claims election, the process adopted for the election to office of the Chairman and Secretary-General of every *Wafaq* is opaque and characterized by irregularities in terms of democratic principles.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned challenges, madrassah reform is the need of the hour. The madrassah administrators, students, and faculties aspire to play a greater role in the social fabric of the Pakistani society than as Imams of mosques or teachers of Islamic studies in madrassahs or elsewhere. They are not only willing to introduce contemporary subjects to their curricula but also to reform their religious curriculum, albeit with the caveat that the government or other concerned actors encourage rather than force them to do it. The madrassah administrators want the government and even non-government entities to assist them in providing language, computer, and vocational trainings to their students. Some of them are open to the learning of modern philosophy, social sciences, and research methodology in their institutions. Certain segments of madrassah administrators are quite open to promoting inter-sectarian interaction, others not so much; the latter being a serious challenge in the way of mainstreaming. Whereas unreconciled differences persist between the ITMP and the government on the way forward for madrassah regulation and reform, there is a considerable room for constructively engaging the madrassahs at the non-governmental level.

Recommendations

In light of the conclusion drawn above, we are giving separate recommendations below for the government and non-government entities:

For the Government

- Consider regulation and reform of madrassahs as the only option for the way forward on madrassahs. Letting the status quo persist is no longer an option.
- Take the madrassah leadership into confidence through the platform of the ITMP before initiating any reform program.
- Demand democratic transparency of their election to office from the madrassah *Wafaq* heads represented in the ITMP.
- Make progress on curriculum reform and equivalence conditional upon promotion of inter-sectarian interaction and harmony. A government-recognized mainstream educational institution should not be sectarian.
- Hold deeper consultations with the ITMP on reform of the religious curriculum through the platform of the CII.
- Organize nationwide trainings for madrassah administrations on auditable accounting and the legal regime for educational institutions in general and madrassahs in particular.

For Non-Government Entities

- Assist madrassah administrations in improving management through trainings on maintenance of auditable accounts and modern management methods.
- Provide trainings to madrassah teachers according to the modern day educational needs of the students.
- Provide trainings to madrassah students on learning languages, especially English, as well as the use of computers.
- Provide contemporary education courses to madarssah students on the madrassah campuses.
- Train madrassah students in contemporary research methodology.
- Train madrassah students in creative journalism, composing, and graphic designing.
- Provide vocational skills training to interested madrassah students, such as electrician, plumbing, tailoring, cellphone repairing, etc.
- Promote healthy extra-curricular activities in madrassahs such as inter-madrassah/university-madrassah sports and debating competitions, etc.
- Provide uniforms, books, and medical facilities and health-related trainings in madrassahs.

- Provide space to madrassah students and faculties to have inter-sectarian interaction and dialogue in a controlled atmosphere in prior consultation with the concerned madrassah administrations.
- Provide awareness trainings to the business communities, which are the primary individual donors of madrassahs, on safe charity and the needs of madrassah reform.
- Provide trainings to madrassah students in improving their research skills as per modern day requirements.
- Implement micro-level interventions in prior consultation with the concerned madrassahs.
- Get the macro-level interventions for the welfare of madrassah approved from the respective *Wafaq* leadership.
- Respect the cultural norms of the madrassahs while designing and implementing madrassah-related interventions.
- Bring the madrassahs located in peripheral geographical locations under the purview of your interventions.

Readily Implementable Action Plans for the Way Forward

While negotiations with the madrassah leadership on introduction of contemporary subjects in madrassah curricula and reform of the religious curricula of the madrassahs could take time because of the complicated nature of give-and-take referred to above, there are certain areas in which practical action plans could be readily implemented. Moving ahead in these issue areas would cause little resistance from the madrassah administrations and could be instrumental in their mainstreaming.

Capacity-building of Madrassah Administrations in Accounting

The MRO, under which madrassah are registered with the district offices of the Societies' Registrars, inter alia, obliges the registered madrasahs to annually report to the government on their educational activities as well as their financial audit. Financial audit, therefore, is also an essential element of madrasah registration and reform under NAP and NISP. The madrasahs, however, are either completely unable to submit audit reports, or are only able to submit incomplete or incorrect audit reports. The reason for this is lack of expertise on doing audit of their accounts as per the requirement of the government. Therefore, building the capacity of the madrasahs to submit annual audit reports would be instrumental in improving government leverage on the madrasahs for their regulation in future. This could be achieved through designing of course material and initiating train-the-trainer courses for selected representatives from the five Wafaqs to enable them to train relevant officials of registered madrasahs on submitting annual audit reports in accordance with the required format of the Government of Pakistan. The exercise would enable the trainers to train relevant officials of registered madrasahs on submitting annual audit reports in accordance with the required format of the Government of Pakistan.

University-Madrassah Interaction

There is almost a complete unanimity among madrassah leaders on engaging their students and even faculties in interaction with university students and teachers. Interaction between madrassah and university students and faculties could be promoted through joint learning and problem-solving exercises involving university students and madrassah students from various Wafaqs under one roof, preferably at a non-madrassah and non-university venue. Such interactions would achieve three goals: One, such interactions would extract the madrassah students from a madrassah learning environment and expose them to modern learning methods. Two, these interactions would be useful in busting myths of madrassah students about university education in general and university students in particular. Third, since the university-madrassah interactions would involve students from madrassahs affiliated with different Wafaqs, they would also subtly promote inter-Wafaq and thus inter-sectarian

interaction among madrassah students. Such interactive sessions could involve lectures on environmental conservation, Constitution, civic responsibilities, international relations, objective writing skills, responsible use of social media, etc. The interactive sessions could also involve problem-solving role-play among students of universities and madrassahs of various sects that would bond them with each other at a different level and understand each other's perspectives.

Annex I: List of Persons Interviewed for the Report and Participants of the Five Consultative Dialogues

Interviews with the following four top leaders of the five *Wafaqs* were conducted for this report:

1. Mufti Muneeb-ur-Rehman, Chairman ITMP
2. Maulana Hanif Jallundhri, Secretary-General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia
3. Qari Yasin Zafar, Secretary General, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia
4. Maulana Dr. Atta-ur-Rehman, Secretary General Rabta al-Madaris Pakistan

Interviews of the following influential *Mohtamims* of important madarssahs were conducted for this report:

1. Mufti Mohammad Naeem, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Binoria International, Karachi
2. Maulana Anwar ul Haq Haqqani, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera
3. Mufti Abu Bakar Mohiuddin, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Clifton, Karachi
4. Maulana Dr. Ghulam Abbas Qadri, *Mohtamim*, Idara Uloom-i-Islami, Karachi
5. Maulana Mohammad Anwar Ghazi, Dean, Jamia Al-Rasheed, Karachi
6. Maulana Abdul Aziz Nooristani, Emir, Shura Ulema Ahl-i-Hadith Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Peshawar
7. Maulana Umar bin Abdul Aziz Peshawari, *Mohtamim*, Jamia al-Asaria, Peshawar
8. Maulana Fazal Ali Haqqani, Chief Instructor, Jamia Rasheedia, Swabi
9. Maulana Maqsood Ahmed Salafi, Chairman, Peace Foundation, Peshawar
10. Maulana Naseem Ali Shah, *Mohtamim*, Markaz al-Islami, Bannu
11. Allama Jawad Hadi, *Mohtamim* Jamia Shaheed Arif al-Hussaini, Peshawar
12. Allama Abid Hussain Shakiri, Principal, Madrassah Ahl-i-Bait Anwar-ul-Madaris, Kalaya
13. Maulana Tayyab Qureshi, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Ashrafia, Peshawar
14. Maulana Abdul Wasay, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Miftah ul Uloom, Shergarh Mardan
15. Mufti Mohammad Ayaz Durrani, Dean, Jamia Tableegh ul Quran, Peshawar

CODE PAKISTAN also interviewed a lady principal of a female madrassah to get a perspective on the state of education in female madrassahs in Pakistan.

1. Mrs. Maulana Ghulam Mustafa Hazarvi, Principal, Jamia Islamia Umm-e-Habiba, Karachi

CODE PAKISTAN interviewed the following informed and relevant senior-level serving and retired political leaders, government functionaries, and academics with considerable exposure to and familiarity with madrassah affairs for the report:

1. Mehmood Jan Khan, Speaker KP Assembly

2. Dr. Qibla Ayaz, Chairman, Council of Islamic Ideology, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad
3. Mr. Ihsan Ghani Khan, former National Coordinator, NACTA, Islamabad
4. Mufti Dr. Imran al-Kalyanvi, Assistant Professor, Karachi University, Karachi
5. Dr. Abdul Hai Madani, Associate Professor, NED University, Karachi

Finally, CODE PAKISTAN also conducted interviews with the following students of important madrassahs:

1. Aamir Ahmed Usmani, Student, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi
2. Mehmood Zaki, Student, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera
3. Waqar Ahmed, Student, Jamia Rasheedia, Swabi
4. Farman Ali, Student, Jamia Rasheedia, Swabi
5. Abdul Bais, Student, Jamia Rasheedia, Swabi
6. Ashfaq Ullah, Student, Jamia Rasheedia, Swabi
7. Abdullah, Student, Jamia Rasheedia, Swabi

Following were the participants of the first roundtable held in Peshawar on December 10, 2018:

1. Maulana Umer Hayat, *Mohtamim*, Marassah Umer bin Khattab, Peshawar
2. Mufti Karim Akhtar Orakzai, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Khadijatul Kubra, Central Kurram
3. Maulana Saleem ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Taleem ul Islam, Peshawar
4. Maulana Zubair Shah, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Ayesha Siddiqa, Peshawar
5. Maulana Tayyab Qureshi, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Ashrafia, Peshawar
6. Syed Jamil Hassan, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Arif al-Hussaini, Peshawar
7. Syed Saqib Hussain, *Mohtamim*, Markaz-i-Islami Babul Ilm, Kohat
8. Hafiz Luqman ul Haq Haqqani, Director Admin., Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera
9. Hafiz Salman ul Haq Haqqani, In-Charge Libraries, Jamia Haqqania, Nowshera
10. Maulana Mohammad Ishaq, Teacher, Iqra Model School, Peshawar
11. Maulana Mohammad Idrees, Representative, Wafaqul Madaris al-Salafia
12. Maulana Mohammad Shoaib, Central Leader, Jamiat Ahl-i-Hadith
13. Maulana Hidayat Ullah, Teacher, Jamia Arabia Hadiqatul Uloom, Peshawar
14. Maulana Mohammad Younas, Teacher, Jamia Darul Uloom Haqqania, Nowshera
15. Maulana Mehboob Ahmad, Teacher, Jamia Rasheedia, Swabi
16. Maulana Ihsanullah Mohsini, Teacher, Jamia Arif al-Hussaini, Peshawar
17. Mohammad Israr Madani, Religious Scholar
18. Hameed Ullah, Student, Jamia Mohammadia, Charsadda
19. Mehmood Zaki, Student, Jamia Rasheedia, Swabi
20. Wasif Nawaz, Student

Following were the participants of the second roundtable held in Peshawar on December 18, 2018:

1. Qari Roohullah Madani, former Minister Religious Affairs, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
2. Maulana Hussain Ahmed, Provincial President, Wafaqul Madaris al-Arabia
3. Mohammad Israr Madani, President, International Research Council for Religious Affairs, Peshawar
4. Maulana Wasi Ullah, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Ummul Khair, Peshawar
5. Maulana Naqeeb Ullah, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Junaidia Ghafooria, Peshawar
6. Maulana Mirajuddin, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Amania, Peshawar
7. Maulana Shabbir Ahmed, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Ahya ul Uloom, Peshawar
8. Maulana Ibrar Azizi, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Darul Uloom Tahseen ul Quran, Charsadda
9. Charsadda
10. Maulana Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, *Mohtamim*, Darul Uloom Islamia, Charsadda
11. Maulana Atta ur Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Islamia Fareedia, Peshawar
12. Allama Mohammad Iqbal Shah Haideri, *Mohtamim*, Madrassah Haideria, Peshawar
13. Allama Syed Zaki ul Hassan, *Mohtamim*, Madrassah Jamia al-Shaheed Arif al-Hussaini, Peshawar
14. Maulana Abdul Waheed Marwat, Dean, Jamia Nizaratul Ma'arif, Lakki Marwat
15. Mufti Abdul Ghani Advocate, Dean, Jamia al-Markaz al-Islami, Bannu
16. Mufti Sawab Ali, Dean, Jamia al-Markaz al-Islami, Bannu
17. Maulana Nazir Muhammad, Khateeb, Jamia Masjid Khizra, Peshawar
18. Maulana Khilafat Shah, Khateeb, Jamia Masjid Shaikhan, Peshawar
19. Maulana Rahat Ullah Qadri, Khateeb, Jamia Masjid Tehkal, Peshawar
20. Maulana Nazir Mohammad, Khateeb, Jamia Masjid Nasir Bagh, Peshawar
21. Maulana Rab Nawaz, Teacher, Jamia Junaidia Ghafooria, Peshawar
22. Maulana Rahat Ullah, Teacher, Jamia Junaidia Ghafooria, Peshawar
23. Maulana Umer bin Abdul Aziz, Teacher, Jamia al-Asaria, Peshawar
24. Amaduddin, Teacher, Madrassah Salman Farsi, Charsadda
25. Nazir Hussain, Teacher, Madrassah Jamia al-Shaheed Arif al-Hussaini, Peshawar
26. Maulana Roohul Amin, Teacher, Darul Uloom Islamia, Charsadda
27. Allama Mehboob Shah Haideri, Teacher, Madrassah Haideria, Peshawar
28. Inzamam ul Haque, Student, Jamia Junaidia Ghafooria, Peshawar
29. Hassan Zeb, Student, Jamia Amania, Peshawar
30. Nouman Rafi, Student, Madrassah Salman Farsi, Charsadda

Following were the participants of the first consultative dialogue in Karachi on December 23, 2018:

1. Mohammad Ashiq Saeedi, *Mohtamim*, Darul Uloom Taleem ul Quran, Karachi
2. Maulana Abdullah Ameer, al-Qasim Huffaaz Academy, Karachi
3. Dr. Mohammad Ishaq Alam, Professor, Karachi University, Karachi
4. Maulana Ghulam Mustafa Hazarvi, Dean, Jamia Fatima al-Zuhra, Karachi
5. Maulana Mohammad Mohsin Shehzad, Dean, Jamia Um Habiba, Karachi
6. Maulana Ashraf Gormani, Dean, Jamia Abu Bakar, Karachi
7. Mohammad Yousaf Salafi, Organizer, Jamia al-Eman, Karachi
8. Akhtar Salafi, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Ayesha lil Banaat, Karachi
9. Akhtar Mohammadi, Khateeb, Mohammadi Masjid, Azizabad, Karachi
10. Hanif Salafi, Khateeb, Mohammadi Masjid, Azizabad, Karachi
11. Hussain Ahmed Asfi, Teacher, Jamia Anwar ul Uloom Qamia, Karachi
12. Maulana Jehan Yaqoob, Teacher, Jamia Binoria, Karachi
13. Aamir Ahmed Usmani, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi
14. Hafiz Junaid Azeem, Teacher, Madrassah Taleem ul Quran, Karachi
15. Qazi Mohammad Haris, Lecturer, Various colleges and graduate of madrassah, Karachi
16. Mr. Salman Akbar, Teacher, Mohammad Ali Jinnah University, Karachi
17. Rasheed Ahmed, Student, Jamia Al-Rasheed, Karachi
18. Mohammad Owais Shahid, Student, Jamia Binoria, Karachi
19. Tahir Ullah Nazir, Student, Jamia Binoria, Karachi
20. Mohammad Nadeem Suleman, Student, Jamia Binoria, Karachi
21. Nadeem Bilal Ghiloo, Student, Jamia Binoria, Karachi
22. Azhar Shah Storiani, Student, Jamia Ma'arif al-Sharia, Karachi
23. Abdullah Habib, Student, Karachi University

Following were the participants of the second consultative dialogue in Karachi on December 24, 2018:

1. Maulana Zia-ur-Rehman, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Abu Bakar, Karachi
2. Dr. Ghulam Abbas Qadri, *Mohtamim*, Idara Uloom-i-Islami, Karachi
3. Maulana Rasool Bukhsh Qadri, *Mohtamim*, Jamia al-Mustafa Rizvia, Karachi
4. Maulana Arif Mehmood Arfi, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Anwarul Uloom, Karachi
5. Mohammad Umer Farooq, Noor Mohammad Research Center, Karachi
6. Hafiz Syed Mutee ur Rehman, Secretary, Jamia Sattaria, Karachi
7. Mohammad Aamir, Teacher, Jamia Sattaria, Karachi
8. Mufti Rehman Qayyum, Jamia Islamia, Jacobabad
9. Farhad Khan Swati, Jamia Darul Uloom, Karachi
10. Mufti Sajid Mehmood, Head of Academics, Jamia Anwar ul Uloom, Karachi
11. Maulana Munsif Ghani, Khateeb, Makkah Masjid and Principal al-Karamain Islamic School, Karachi

12. Mohammad Irfan, Khateeb, Karachi
13. Mohammad Azhar Alam, Teacher, Jamia Ashrafia Haqqania, Karachi
14. Dr. Mohammad Shoaib, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Waqaria, Karachi
15. Maulana Altaf Siddiqui, Teacher, Jamia Yousfia Binoria, Karachi
16. Qazi Saeed ul Hassan, Teacher, Darul Uloom Islamia, Karachi
17. Aamir Ahmed Usmani, Teacher, Jamia al-Rasheed, Karachi
18. Maulana Azhar Mehmood, Teacher, Jamia Masjid Madani, Karachi
19. Dr. Faiz ul Abrar, Assistant Professor, Karachi University, Karachi
20. Maulana Mohammad Nouman, Teacher, Jamia Anwar ul Uloom, Karachi
21. Zahid ur Rehman, Student, Madrassah Qayyumabad, Karachi
22. Mohammad Anas, Student, Jamia Darul Uloom, Karachi
23. Zohaib Hassan, Student, al-Khair Education, Karachi

Following were the participants of the consultative dialogue held at the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) in Islamabad:

1. Dr. Qibla Ayaz, Chairman, CII, Islamabad
2. Maulana Dr. M. Ilyas, Head Seerat Chair, Islamabad
3. Maulana Nasim Ali Shah, Chairman, al Markaz al-Islami, Bannu
4. Maulana Zubair Usmani, Teacher, Jamia Darul Uloom, Karachi
5. Dr. Amir Tuaseen, former Chairman Pakistan Madrassah Education Board, Islamabad
6. Tanveer Ahmad Allawi, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Muhammadia, Islamabad
7. Maulana Hidayat Ullah, President, Ittiaht Ul Ulama, Jamia Hadiqatul Uloom, Peshawar
8. Maulana Israr Madani, President, International Research Council on Religious Affairs (IRCRA)
9. Maulana Tehmeed Jan, Executive Director, IRCRA
10. Allama Abid Hussain Shakiri, Principal, Madrasa Ahle Bait Anwar Ul Madaris, Kalaya
11. Maulana Umar bin Abdul Aziz Peshawari, Principal, Jamia Asaria, Peshawar
12. Maulana Muhammad Ghous Sabri, *Mohtamim*, Darul Uloom Muhammadia, Karachi
13. Maulana Fazal Jmail Rizvi, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Subhania Rizvia, Dargai Mlakand
14. Maulana Zia Ur Rehman, Nazim, Jamia Abi Bakar, Karachi
15. Allama Nazir Abbas, *Mohtamim*, Jamia Karachi, Karachi
16. Mr. Razia Naveed, Vice President, Minhaj Ul Quran, Lahore
17. Maulana Mohammad Shoaib, Deputy *Mohtamim*, Jamia Muhammadia, Islamabad
18. Maulana Abdur Rauf, Vice Chairman, Madrasa Foundation, Islamabad
19. Dr. A.G Bukhari, Professor, National University of Modern Languages (NUML), Islamabad
20. Dr. S.M Abbas, Professor, NUML, Islamabad
21. Mr. Sharfuddin, Research Assistant, CII, Islamabad
22. Mr. Abdur Rashid, Research Officer, CII, Islamabad

23. Ms. Kulsoom Bukhari, Teacher, International Islamic University (IIU), Islamabad
24. Umair, Student, IIU, Islamabad